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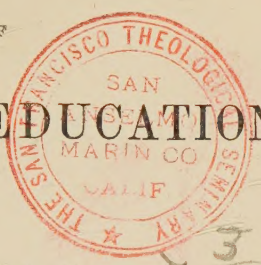

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AN ESSAY:

TO WHICH THE MANCHESTER PRIZE WAS ADJUDGED.

X,3 5 8

BY

RICHARD WINTER HAMILTON, LL.D., D.D.,

MINISTER OF BELGRAVE CHAPEL, LEEDS.

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TO THE

RIGHT HON. EARL FITZWILLIAM,

ETC., ETC., ETC.

My Lord,

I beg You to accept the Dedication of this Volume. It is written upon a theme which has ever commanded Your close attention, and respects a cause which has ever received Your munificent support. As a Treatise, it is not improbable that it may contain opinions with which Your judgment does not coincide. Its spirit of freedom and candour I am confident that You will approve.

Did I presume to address Your Lordship, as did Walker King * at an early period of Your life, it would be to say how every augury of Your then opening career has been fulfilled. In Your comparative

* Bishop of Rochester, in a Dedication prefixed to an Edition of Burke.

withdrawment from the Arena of Political Debate, Your country still remembers You, and will not fail to call for You in the hour of danger.

Though I am not ungrateful for personal kindnesses which Your Lordship has rendered me,—felt the more sensitively by me as one of a class towards which contempt is very generally meted rather than respect,—I should have thought it indelicate to have made these the reasons of my present Act. I present this Work to You, solely on the grounds of Your High Character and Patriotism.

Believe me, My Dear Lord,

Your Lordship's grateful and faithful Servant,

RICHARD WINTER HAMILTON.

LEEDS, Nov. 1st, 1844.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE following Documents will explain the History of the Work which [illegible]

ERRATA.

Page 201,—last Line of Latin Quotation, omit the Comma after "æterna."

Page 262,—first Line of Foot Note, to read thus, "If men do not continue," &c.

POPULAR EDUCATION.

A PATRIOTIC Churchman of Manchester, whose name is to remain unknown, has entrusted to me the Sum of ONE HUNDRED GUINEAS, as a Premium for the most valuable Essay "On the best Method of extending the Benefits of Education to the People of England, consistently with the Principles of Civil and Religious Liberty."

The Essay must embrace the following topics:—

1st. Some account of the Extent, and of the ascertained and probable Results, of Popular Education on the Continent and in the United States.

2nd. A Condensed Statistical View—so far as practicable—of the State of Popular Education in the Agricultural and Manufacturing Districts of England, including the instruction given in Day-schools and in Sunday-schools.

3rd. A similar view of the Comparative Numbers educated in those Schools by the Members of the Established Church, and by the different bodies of Protestant Nonconformists.

4th. Suggestions in regard to Methods by which the Superintendence and Resources of Society may be rendered more effectual, apart from the intervention of the State, as means of securing to the children of our peasantry and artizans instruction in the elements of knowledge, both secular and religious:—at the same time, the questions, whether Education should be in any sense compulsory, or whether it should be aided in any way by authority or grants from the Government, will be left open, so that the discussion of them shall in no case prejudice the claims of the Essay on the other points above-mentioned.

It is expected that the Publication will form a Duodecimo Volume of about Three Hundred Pages, and the Profits arising from its Sale, after deducting the usual Costs, will be presented to the Author.

The Manuscript must be sent to my care, carriage paid, including the Name and Address of the Writer in a sealed Letter, by *the first of March next*, directed to 26, Cooper-Street, Manchester; and the Award, it is hoped, will be made in about two months from that time. The following Gentlemen have consented to act as Adjudicators:—Rev. Samuel Davidson, LL.D., Professor of Biblical Criticism and

Oriental Literature, in the Lancashire Independent College; Rev. Abraham E. Farrar, Wesleyan Minister, Liverpool; and Rev. John Kelly, Liverpool.

ROBERT VAUGHAN, D.D.,
President of the Lancashire Independent College, near Manchester.

College, Aug. 25, 1843.

COPY OF THE ADJUDICATION.

The Adjudicators appointed to examine the Prize Essays on Education, having endeavoured to accomplish their task with all the impartiality and patience which it demands, are happy to announce that they are unanimous on the subject. Out of fourteen volumes which they have received, they have fixed on the one entitled, "The Institutions of Popular Education." It need scarcely be mentioned that, with every sentiment advanced in the Essay, they do not necessarily agree. But, after a careful perusal of the entire number, they believe that it has more intellectual power, more practical and sound sentiment, and greater compactness of argument, than any of its competitors. The publication of such an Essay will, in their judgment, effectually promote the cause of Popular Education in the land, to which the public mind is specially directed at the present time, and also fulfil the purpose of the benevolent individual to whose liberality its existence is primarily owing.

SAMUEL DAVIDSON,
ABRAHAM E. FARRAR,
JOHN KELLY.

It only remains for the Author to express his obligations to the unknown and unguessed Donor of the Prize; and to the Rev. Gentlemen who adjudged in favour of the following Essay. Both they, and the Rev. Dr. Vaughan, who was the Convener and Organ, have acted towards the Writer in the kindest and most fraternal manner.

ADVERTISEMENT TO THE SECOND EDITION.

The Author desires to acknowledge the Public favour which has been given to the Work, and which, within two months, exhausted an Edition of Two Thousand. Ill health, and a long absence on the Continent, prevented an earlier attention to a continued demand for it. He has now revised the whole,—bringing up dates, where it was possible, to the present time,—and somewhat enlarged the Volume. He hopes that the corrections and expansions of this new Edition, which considerably exceeds the number of the first, will show that he is not indifferent to the Patronage which his humble attempt has so abundantly received.

Dec. 13th, 1845.

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"Ει αρα τον πρωτον λογον διασωσομεν, τους Φυλακας ἡμιν τῶν αλλων πασῶν δημιουργιων αφειμενους, δειν ειναι δημιουργους ελευθεριας της πολεως πανυ ακριβεις, και μηδεν αλλο επιηδευειν ὅ, τι μη εις τοῦτο φερει· ουδεν δη δεοι αν αυτους αλλο πραττειν ουδε μιμεισθαι· εαν δε μιμωνται, μιμεισθαι . . . . . ανδρειους, σωφρονας, ὁσιους, ελευθερους, και τα τοιαυτα παντα· τα δ' ανελευθερα μητε ποιειν, μητε δεινους ειναι μιμησασθαι."

Plato.—De Republica, Lib. iii.

"If, therefore, we are to hold to our first reasoning, that our Governors, without interfering in any other Manufacture whatsoever, ought to be the most accurate Manufacturers of the *Liberty* of the *State*, and to mind nothing but what has some reference to it,—it were surely proper that they neither did, nor imitated, any thing else. But if they should so far exceed their province as to affect such imitation, let them emulate models which are manly, wise, pure, and free, and all the kindred virtues. In no possible case can it be their duty to follow Slavish measures."

"In the adoption of the system of Education, I foresee an enlightened peasantry, frugal, industrious, sober, orderly, and contented, because they are acquainted with the true value of frugality, sobriety, industry, and order; crimes diminishing, because the enlightened understanding abhors crime; the practice of Christianity prevailing, because the mass of your population can read, comprehend, and feel its divine origin, and the beauty of the doctrines which it inculcates; your kingdom safe from the insult of the enemy, because every man knows the worth of that which he is called upon to defend."

Speech of the late Samuel Whitbread, Esq., M. P.

THE INSTITUTIONS

OF

POPULAR EDUCATION.

CHAPTER I.

PRELIMINARY THOUGHTS ON CERTAIN PORTIONS OF OUR POPULATION.

THE Philosophy of Population, though it has recently excited much attention and produced ample discussion, does not seem even now to have obtained that place in Human Studies which it so well deserves. It is strange that it should bear this modern date. Since in every country the questions it embraces must have been of almost equal importance,—the failure threatening the industrial resources, as the excess does the subsisting means, of every community,—it is a ground of surprise that we can find scarcely any notice of it, any reference to it, in the writings of antiquity. It was, doubtless, a subject of anxious thought to many who lived in the remotest periods of the earth. The

sage in his contemplations, the statesman in his projects, could not utterly neglect or slight it. With a terrible earnestness it demanded the attention of both. Plato, indeed, in his ideal of a State, has not wholly overlooked it. Speaking on certain regulations of marriage, he causes his great interlocutor, Socrates, to state the alternatives, — "That as far as possible our city may be neither too full nor too empty."* The void exhausted by frequent famines, the waste left by exterminating wars, would sometimes peril the being of peoples and the identity of nations. Grave was the problem, how these devastations might be repaired. Redundance was not, on the other hand, unattended by difficulties. Though the world may not have been filled with its present number of inhabitants, some parts of it were densely thronged. The swarm gathered in the fruitful vale. Wherever, too, the limit of a country was narrow, — not lying in the depth of a continent but shut in by shores, — not spreading over a champagne but imprisoned by mountains, — increase would become more likely, from the higher cultivation of the soil, from the demand of domestic manufacture, and from the prevention of any outgrowth of itself beyond the bounds which local necessity had set. Scarcely less grave was the problem, how these augmented wants might be supplied. The records have not been kept, but it cannot be doubted, that profound

* "Και μηδε μεγαλη ημιν η πολις καλα το δυνατον, μηδε σμικρα γιγνηται."—Rep : lib. v.

musings, that sagacious conjectures, that comprehensive schemes, have always more or less agitated the mind of the wise and the good, touching their species in this particular view of it,—its repression or its multiplication. Philanthropy, of no degree or direction, could overlook that which involved its every exercise. A hoary dignity, unquestionably, rests upon the science, however its discoveries lie buried with the fathers of the world.

The Sacred Volume has gathered up certain notations of this great study of our nature, which are worthy of their register. It points us to Him who "enlargeth the nations, and straiteneth them."* It assures us that it must be on account of His anger against our wickedness, if he "multiply the nation," and withhold the proper consequence by not "increasing the joy."† The greatest proportion of human beings to their earthly dwelling-place is always assumed by it to be a good, a thing to be desired. God, it assures us, "made it to be inhabited." "He hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on *all* the face of the earth." Is the Parent described? "As arrows are in the hand of a mighty man; so are children of the youth. Happy is the man that hath his quiver full of them." Is the might of Thebes, with its hundred gates, proclaimed? It is "populous No." The highest blessing takes this form, as if there could not be excess: "For thy waste and thy

* Job xii. 23. † Isa. ix. 3.

desolate places, and the land of thy destruction, shall even now be too narrow by reason of the inhabitants."* Guarding with holy jealousy and fearful judgment every violation of purity, consecrating marriage as "the true source of human offspring," no man can be an intruder in the world. His birth gives right of place and provision in it. Parental sin may, in the opinion of society, throw a shame around him. It may be the wisdom of society to treat him differently from the home-born child. But what if no inheritance greet him? What if yearning and high anticipation have not hailed him? The genial fount of maternal nourishment was not denied the babe; and the joyless mother, in the sense of its undeserved wrong, has sometimes entwined it in only a fonder embrace. We need not fret ourselves with fears of too many guests for the banquet of nature. The prolificness of our kind has its own limits, and wants not our checks. He, who bids the poorest, has spread the board. He has established the proportion between the numbers and the viands. There is bread enough and to spare. Want may exist in the destitution of the means by which a share of that provision can only be obtained. That is not the enquiry. Is there necessity for that privation? Except in the arid or frozen wastes, there is not local dearth: even their rigours may be overcome. Cultivation finds new powers in the most unyielding soil: ocean has scarcely been skimmed for

* Isa. xlix. 19.

its wealth. "God hath made the round world so sure," that not only cannot it be moved, but its nutritive powers cannot be exhausted: sober calculation has shown, from the square miles and their relative inhabitants of China and Britain, that nine thousand millions of human beings might live upon the planet without crowding its area or impoverishing its supply. Were there any danger, any evil, in this almost inconceivable augmentation, the given amount is a pure chimera. If some countries be now well replenished, which the ancient landmarks did not recognise, — others are but the wrecks of a mighty depopulation. The ascertained fruit of Marriage restrains every fear. The law of Increase is almost mathematically established. Perhaps the quantity of human creatures is not greater now than at some former periods of our globe. Let us welcome all who emerge among us into life, let us confess their equal title with our own, not daring to speak of anterior possession, not grudging one against another, not charging God foolishly with a disparity which it is most profane to suppose. Justly and benevolently let us think of any imaginable addition of man as a happy consummation: as calling upon us for a more active and zealous discharge of the duties of philanthropy. O! precious is the life of man! Well may we hail him who now has begun to live for ever! If the Heathen could speak of him: "Animal providum, sagax, multiplex, acutum, memor, plenum rationis et consilii, quem vocamus Hominem, preclara

quadem conditione generatum esse a summo Deo:"* how should we honour all men! How unworthy is every contemptuous expression towards any on our tongues! Is he to be despised? Is "he a vessel in which is no pleasure?"

If a spirit of disparagement be entertained towards any man, as the consuming animal, as the supernumerary disturber,—his entrance on this earth an encroachment, his mingling with its tribes an impertinence,—one who came uninvited and who departs undesired,—such a temper is not drawn from Revelation. When we pray unto *our* Father which is in heaven for our daily bread, we acknowledge all mankind for our brethren, and include them in the prayer. Each man is the brother for whom Christ died. None may be indifferent nor displeasing to us. We are our Brother's Keeper. The most distressed is most proximately our neighbour. We are debtors to all. We owe to love one another. The Christian Charity courses each drop of our common blood through all the windings of the human heart, and identifies all its great principles with universal man. And at least our native country makes a noble investment, though not more than just, for the needy. It mortgages its whole property for the service of the poor. It has no

* "That the creature, far-seeing, ingenious, unrestricted, examining, recollective, full of reason and purpose, whom we call man, must have been formed with such renowned qualities by the Supreme God."—Cicero. De Legibus, lib. i.

Apothetæ,* like Sparta, for the deformed infant: it provides, unlike the ancient Massagetai,† no living grave for age.

But let us indulge no visionary ideas of man in his most perfect state on earth. He must always be a labourer. The furrow must be turned, the forge must be lighted, the anvil must be struck. There will be required the miner, the excavator, the builder, the husbandman. Most minute processes must be conducted: most menial tasks must be performed. The drudgery of present occupation may be somewhat mitigated. Yet bodily exertion will ever be exacted. Though his brow shall be raised still higher to heaven, the sweat of toil must be always there. A law proclaims this necessity. Population stands in a relation to the supply of food. There is invariably, in every civilised country, a certain proportion between the two. By some restraint or check, population is not suffered a permanent or common advancement upon the means of subsistence prepared for that population. They do not swell in diverse ratios to each other. Increase of human kind seems to know no indefinite expansion: increase of food for human kind as little knows a wasteful superfluity. We speak not now of certain affirmed calculations. We diffide in them. The multiplication of the species is, to our conviction, extravagantly computed. The sources of its support are placed, in our belief, most unduly low. But the

* Plutarch. Lycur: † Herodotus. Cleio.

true inequality, though very far from the arithmetical and geometric figures, we consider a most important principle. It is the great incentive to industry and competition. Too rife and too easy a provision for our wants would weaken the mainspring of every social movement: he who will not work ought not to eat: and the place of every one who feeds upon the universal garner must be properly apportioned and eagerly sought. He cannot sit down to the feast without having first earned his share and vindicated his title.

In the treatment of enquiries which affect population, we are betrayed into a style of language, perfectly innocent, but not equally felicitous. We speak, when looking on the crowds of the town and city, of the *masses* discovered there. Now we, in this wise, talk of every congeries and conglomerate. We correct ourselves by qualifying the phrase: they are living masses, the masses of human beings. But our judgments are distorted by the phrase. We unconsciously glide into a prejudice. We have gained a total, without thinking of the parts. It is a heap, but it has strangely become indivisible. These masses present to us no delineations, no individualities. When we speak of mind in reference to them, it is as though there was but one mind informing all; or of capacity for feeling, as though there was but one capacity for feeling exciting all. In reckonings of their number to a given space, or to a particular period, we absolutely break

down these quantities, not into integers, but aliquots and fractions. We must reduce the sums into fifths, and thirds, and eighths. We call decimals to our aid. If disaster overtake the throng,—if military execution befall some lawless multitude,—we hear without surprise, that perhaps only two, or four, of the dense mass have suffered harm or death. From the extenuation which this is supposed to urge, we might imagine that the catastrophe was universally diffused: that the deadly missive, that the sabre gash, were equally distributed. But each component was a perfect system of existence in himself. He who was wounded, only he was harmed; he who was killed, only he has died. There was no common nerve nor life in the crowd. We might say, only these were injured or were slain. But it is a solecism to say that only these *of the multitude* were thus affected. There is no compendium of men. All others of the multitude escaped, and these suffered as if they had stood alone. They lost nothing of themselves in their associates. They were but their uncompounded selves. To himself, to his hereafter, to his God, each man is a separate entity, —you cannot divide nor multiply him,—you cannot make him something more or something less,—amidst whatever congregation of his fellows he is found, in whatever circumstances of relationship he stands, he is distinct from all, as though he wandered the lone pilgrim across the tuftless desert, or in solitary skiff traversed a shoreless sea.

Peculiar views may be entertained of certain communities, of many populations. In various districts their number extends to a surprising degree. Locality, giving rise to occupation, strangely influences the fact. A coal, or an iron, field gathers upon it a manufacturing race. No immigration can account for the sudden rise. It is a nidus of a new commonwealth. The births, contrary to general hypothesis, seem to be in proportion to the density of the population. Every resistance of atmosphere, health, employment, counterworks it in vain. It is an ebbless tide. Some hitherto barren territory is piled with factories, covered with families, studded with habitations. The question is determined,—no light one to the serious mind,—that more or less of human beings may be produced. Tens of thousands owe their existence to these circumstances. But for the rich minerals beneath, these had not breathed among us. Difficulties, vast and even awful, beset the statement: but there is the fact. The gates of life are more suddenly and widely thrown open. From the time of Hargreaves and Arkwright, from the years 1767—1770, this increase has been manifest. From the opening of the present century, it may be shown to be at the rate of one and a half per cent. a year, or fifteen per cent. each ten years. It cannot be less than a quarter of a million per annum on the present population.

The state of the present population in Great Britain awakens anxious emotions in every thoughtful

and benevolent mind. Its ocean-ramparts restrain it from pressing outwards. This restriction does not, however, prevent frequent discharges of it. From the Returns furnished by the Emigration Board, we learn that the number of emigrants, in the seven years, from 1825 to 1831, was 103,218, or an average of 14,745 yearly: in the ten years, from 1832 to 1841, 429,775, or 42,977 per annum. During, therefore, the last seventeen years, the total number has been 532,993, or an average for that period of 31,352 each year. This is a great efflux: but what sensible vacuum is effected? The difference is seen in other parts of the United Empire, as when the estate is cleared, or some clan is deported. But in England and Wales, to which this Report is confined, great as is the withdrawment, it is scarcely possible, except by arguing what otherwise must have been, to prove a substantial and practical relief. A perplexity arises as to the employment of so many ready and willing labourers. Could it be shown that Machinery throws out of work any number of hands, it would be vain to do more than deplore the consequence. Arrest its powers, and what hands could you employ? The demonstration is easy, that it not only is necessary to help us to produce at all, but that it creates demands for manipulation and resources of handicraft, which otherwise could not be known. Manufacture is not a misnomer, when most indebted to mechanical contrivance. There is nothing in the labour of civilised man,

but requires some implement, — another term for a machine. When he ceased to tear up the ground with his nails,—if he ever did that brutal or menial act,— he called for artificial aid. The spade, the hoe, the share, the harrow, are all abridgments of manual power. It would be difficult to prove that what was good in its incipient use, became a violent evil when it was a little more elaborated. Man, in the different branches of his manufacturing skill, hesitates not to call himself, — and feels that there is no opprobrium in it,— the artizan and the mechanic.

There are hardships, indubitably, connected with sudden transitions in mechanical improvement. A large class, perhaps indentured to that division of labour which is now superseded, feels itself aggrieved. In disgust and revenge, it will give no assistance to the improved instrument. Most conceivable is it that these men should feel that society has cast them off. They apply, with reluctance, to any sort of occupation. Regular habits being broken, they henceforth prefer the most desultory. They rapidly begin to sink. They have refused to avail themselves of the increased labour which the innovation has really introduced, because their original, and somewhat exclusive, privilege has been disturbed. There was no necessity for this abandonment to physical and moral degeneracy: but the result might be too confidently expected, and may be too naturally explained. The spectacle of whole bodies of workmen, thus pauperised and thus blotted out, is,

happily, very rare; it is a stage of things which some of us have known, and which cannot happen without a heart-rending commiseration.

Several of those vents of population, which the contests of kingdoms and other national convulsions furnish, have failed to thin the present generation, though they were most active with that which preceded it. Then was there such a havoc of our youth, such a blight upon the flower of our population, that the middle-aged "went among men for an old man." Then a conscription was virtually at work. — The wastes of fever were ten-fold of those which now destroy our poor. Variolous disease made sure of its hapless victims. — No comparison can be maintained between the quality of the food and clothing of the former, and present, operative. The cockle and the rag of his father he would despise. Inconvenience in higher wants, and suffering from greater numbers, are inevitable. But what would we recall?

"Laudas
Fortunam et mores antiquæ plebis, et idem,
Si quis ad illa Deus subito te agat, usque recuses:
Aut quia non sentis, quod clamas, rectius esse;
Aut quia non firmus rectum defendis:"—*

* "Thou praisest the condition and manners of the ancient multitude, and yet wouldst decline any return to them, if Providence gave thee the means: showing, either that thou dost not think what thou declarest to be right, or hast not the courage to defend it."— Horat: Satir: lib. ii. 7.

The whole population of this Country is this Country's trust. No man has home, above the meanest hut, but that home is a security for the support of his poorer compatriots. He must share his citizenship with them as equal citizens. The whole law, — not a particular statute or enactment,—both written and traditionary, — the virtue of the entire code, — constitutes this benefit of property as much the right of the pauper as the holding of that property is the right of its possessor. It is not contended that this claim is never opposed, is never harshly conceded, is never niggardly supplied. It is not contended that the able-bodied are, by any just construction of the law, entitled to a fare of comfort and abundance which the self-supported cottier does not know. The luxurious diet is not the due of any: decent subsistence is the claim of all. This demands conditions; it is not desirable to make it so easy that it should not be indefatigably sought; the support it holds out should be accompanied with a feeling that every expedient needs to be tried before this shall be accepted. But it is no inhospitable shelter. It is no precarious inhabitation. It is not the fiction of which we sometimes speak. It is not the hypothetical right in which the enthusiastic Constitutionalist will often boast. No tribute is more impartially levied, more strictly collected, more fully disbursed. The Exchequer of the State is not more certainly supplied than the chest of the poor. Its relief is not of sufferance, but of consti-

tutional challenge! There is no power to relegate the meanest outcast from this national provision! It is another thing when the labourer insists upon special protections. These are refused to the capitalist and employer. Commerce and revenue may make them impossible. If the workman asks for what is incompatible with the progress of mechanical improvement and mercantile liberty, he asks, however he, the individual, may not live to suffer it, for the destruction of his class. Labour, like every trading interest, is best promoted when it is least indulged. It must hold, and abide, its market. The swaddling-bands of a mistaken kindness and custody only cramp its energies and frustrate its rewards. All that it wants is independence. It may, however, plead one legitimate consequence,—being itself free for general benefit, though such freedom may be partial evil,—that Food, whatever may be the contingent difficulties and the local objections, should be no less free. And then the poorest will think of his mother country with gratitude, and will say of her, in the language of inspired commendation: "She is like the merchants' ships; she bringeth her food from afar."

It is impossible to conceive a grosser fallacy in finance, a more cruel restriction upon international peace, than any impost upon necessary food. Political œconomy condemns every such tax intended for revenue as unwise: but when it is protective, it is most flagrantly unjust.

Since it is very important that we should be able, in speaking of the need of Education, to show who are the parties that are its proper subjects, and, in all our complaints of the multitudes who are uneducated, to ascertain the numbers to which remedial measures can be applied,—the following Table has been drawn up with much care and with great exactness.

CENTESIMAL PROPORTIONS of the POPULATION of ENGLAND and WALES, SCOTLAND and IRELAND,—severally at the undermentioned Ages,—according to the Census of 1841.

	ENGLAND.	WALES.	SCOTLAND.		IRELAND.
Under 5 years ..	13·18	13·33	13·20	1 to 5 years	15·25
From 5 to 10 ..	11·91	12·25	12	6 to 10 ..	13·25
„ 10 to 15 ..	10·83	11·15	11·33	11 to 15 ..	11·95
„ 15 to 20 ..	9·93	10·08	10·33	16 to 20 ..	11·60
„ 20 to 25 ..	9·75	9·09	9·71	21 to 25 ..	8·52
„ 25 to 30 ..	8·07	7·60	7·50	26 to 30 ..	9·08
„ 30 to 35 ..	7·34	6·80	7·27	31 to 35 ..	5·03
„ 35 to 45 ..	11·15	10·23	11	36 to 45 ..	10·14
„ 45 to 55 ..	8	8	7·62	46 to 55 ..	7·20
„ 55 to 65 ..	5·19	5·86	5·33	56 to 65 ..	4·96
„ 65 to 75 ..	3	3·46	3	66 to 75 ..	2
„ 75 to 85 ..	1·16	1·62	1·28	76 to 85 ..	·80
„ 85 to 95 ..	·18	·32	·23	86 to 96 ..	·13
„ 95 upwards	·01	·02	·02	97 upwards .	·02
Unknown	·30	·19	·18	Unknown ..	·07
	100	100	100		100

CHAPTER II.

ON THE POOR AS A CLASS.

General views are often flattering. Our first impressions are often false. We stand upon some eminence, and contemplate the surface of a country. There is the prospect in its flowing outline of hill and valley, woodland and stream, mingling and melting into one another, in perfect proportion and harmonious array. A closer examination of the landscape would show us the ruder features, the rugged, the abrupt, the naked: the fissured rock, the mis-shapen trunk, the den, the cave, the abyss. Or, we climb some tower, and look down upon the outspread map of the city. The whole agrees and corresponds. Palace, temple, hall,—turret, spire, dome,—complete a glorious picture for the eye, —without contest or rivalry, a blended, though a well delineated, mass. A narrower inspection would set before us many unsightly objects which had been lost in our panoramic view. There is the alley, the purlieu, the hovel, the cabin; and many a noble building but hides insanity, disease, and want. Still these are only figures of a more important and a more disappointing research. Behold human society! It seems

often a splendid pageant. There are its ensigns of state. There are its engines of power. There are its trophies of war. There are its monuments of civilization. What wealth does it contain! What learning does it boast! What happiness does it secure! How exquisite are its refinements! How profuse are its luxuries! Its sound of voices! Its variety of movements! Its keenness of pursuits! Yet let us look more steadily and piercingly into it. What reverses of our fond ideas come out to the light! How are our prepossessions mocked! Misery is discerned by us in concentrated measures and countless forms. The glittering disguise is stripped away. Deep are the sorrows which that veil concealed! "All things are full of labour; man cannot utter it." "This sore travail hath God given to the sons of man, to be exercised therewith."

But Poverty is not only a serious ill in itself,—it is the aggravation of every other, and of its own nature it must be very widely diffused. We cannot hope that it will altogether cease. We can scarcely hope that, with all possible corrective and relief, it will ever cease to press upon multitudes with extreme severity.

We, as Christians, need not lay our account for any other state of society. Our Bible is full of references to it as to a permanent condition of things. It makes plain our duties towards it. If it prophetically denote its subversion,—it encourages the hope, it strengthens the assurance, as the result only of reli-

gious influence. We, in the mean while, are by no means to regard poverty as any judgment upon those who suffer it: they may be the brethren of Christ, "the holy seed" which is "the substance" of the Nation or of the Church. We are commanded to "consider the poor." We must study their case. We must sound their misery. We must render ourselves conversant with their affairs, their prejudices, their physical sufferings, their spiritual privations. "The righteous considereth the cause of the poor; but the wicked regardeth not to know it."*

There have been peoples which have not comprised, in the descriptive sense, the poor. They have been found in some fertile chersonesus or thinly-inhabited isle. The rank vegetation has superseded the necessity of labour and the value of property. But these instances are few. There can be no civilization when such a state of things exists. Civilization has its root in laws which secure to men the particular advantages of their talents and exertions. It thus encourages, as well as necessitates, inequality. As it does not discover in men the same faculties and adaptations, so it does not suppose that their satisfactions can be the same. Competition, whatever may be its inconveniences, is an unmixed good, in comparison with any stagnation in human fortunes. The perfect atmospheric balance is the source of disease and the repression of energy: the drooping flower opens to the breeze,

* Prov. xxix. 7.

and life beginning to fade comes back invigorated on the wing of the tempest. The convulsions of society not only strengthen its frame, but are the throes of its noblest improvements.

The existence of the Class, which we call the poorer order, is thus inevitable. Power can be only in the hands of the few. Wealth easily is drawn towards power. These are mutually engrossing and subservient. Where wealth arises from the sudden discovery of the precious metals, the country must be poor. The barter is wanting which those metals may represent and facilitate, but cannot produce. Where the wealth is that of commerce, it will be more distributed: intermediate ranks also will be found, and not merely poor and rich. In this kingdom wealth is not generally deposit, but capital,—it is a traffic-stock. Population increases, by a law partly obvious and partly occult, with the progress of national affluence: and the result is, that the larger moiety must depend for their sustenance on labour. This result is not violent: affluence creates wants, and the more numerous the wants, the more numerous must be the workers to supply them. Let us now think of these as a great civil division.

It is too common,—alas! it is too natural, to entertain a prejudice against this rank of our fellow-countrymen. They think that labour is their all. Is it strange that they should set high store upon it? They have learnt, they see, that it is the spring of all value. Need we wonder that they do not underrate it? They cannot

but have marked what appalling effects its interruption and withdrawment can inflict on a community. Can we be amazed that they should sometimes wield this terrible power? In all these opinions there may be the infusion of error and mistake, because naked propositions seldom consist of perfect truth. Labour is not the poor man's all,—he has a vital benefit in the property around him, for otherwise his labour could not command its reward. It is not the spring of all value, because its quantity may be so redundant that it shall be thrown out of demand. Its refusal may shock the operations of the mart, but it is a self-destructive experiment, generally inducing the depression of wages, or the abandonment of enterprise, together with alienations which no time can heal. But do the operatives alone take partial views of such questions? If their ideas are of the one side alone, may they not plead the more ready apology? Are not their employers often convicted of the most perverse blunders, while having access to every means of information? Happily do the elements of society settle themselves, wealth and labour being equally necessary to each other.

Now we can find in the pages of ancient history but little description of this class. It was overlooked and spurned. The priest only cared for it as it gave him dupes, the poet as it furnished him satires, the monarch as it raised him sinews. The people could not, however, be altogether gross and brutish. The veil is sometimes raised to allow us a faint glimpse of

their habits. Their huts are seen and their fire-nooks exposed. Their foci are as dear to them in the battle as their shrines. We just raise their latch and look into "pauperum tabernas," and contemplate the scene while "arator gaudet igni."* In every negation of history there is suffrage in their favour. Its silence is eloquent in their praise. Thinking upon their numbers, their rude forces, their formidable passions, it is impossible to deny them a large renown of virtues. Kindly affections built up their homestead. Contentment blessed their toils. Resignation lightened their rigours. And though their religion was harsh and evil, yet its few ingredients of truth and morality directed and soothed their lives. There are many reasons to believe that the principal leaders of Pagan philosophy were morally inferior to the people whom they despised.

But whatever may have degraded or redeemed the character of the ancient Poor, there gathers around *us* a stupendous specimen of this condition. On every side poverty,—often mocked by the hope of employment, sometimes sinking into the despair of support,—exists. We think of this class with grateful pride. Ah, were they more closely studied, they would win our admiration! Then should we see the kindness with which they help one another under every ill. Then should we observe the hourly submission with which they bear unimaginable sufferings and privations. Then should we discover their indomitable industry

* Horat: Carm: lib. i. Od. 4.

and endurance. Then would there be revealed to us, not all the comfort which we can vividly fancy, but the struggle against a squalor which no fancy can conceive. Then would there be revealed to us, not all the order which we might fondly desire, but a restraint of lawlessness the temptation to which only poverty can understand. The house-side woodbine and the window-plant declare the simple taste of elegance. The better suit of apparel indicates a sense of station and the duty of appearance. When parental authority cannot be exercised, how cheerfully is it committed to more competent direction! If the children be for a time placed under the government of those who seek their welfare, how docile do they commonly approve themselves! Though manner be distant and reserved, how soon does a true charity warm it into confidence and gratitude! We suffer ourselves to wonder that long neglect of the poor should have provoked their distrust, that frequent oppression should have goaded their resentment, that hopeless failure should have broken their spirit.

The sympathy of the poor with each other,—their availing kindness, their true-hearted tenderness, towards all who are more needy and more sorrowing than themselves, form their characteristic trait as well as impress upon them a high nobility. Where the store is so scanty, where the supply of the merest wants is so anticipated, where the sleep of the midnight hours is so compelled, an animal selfishness might be expected to betray itself. Shall poverty share its crust and divide

its pallet? Shall it gather the children of famine, the benighted and belated stranger, the tempest-driven wanderer, around its crumbs and embers? Shall it attend on sickness? Shall it give alms to the blind and decrepit? Shall it pour its balm on the heart of helpless age? These are not its excitements,—they are its traditionary usages, its holy superstitions, its very laws. And shall we despise those who thus bear one another's burdens? who, weeping themselves, still weep for them who weep? Where else is this exalted philanthropy?

> "The poorest poor
> Long for some moments, in a weary life,
> When they can know and feel, that they have been,
> Themselves, the fathers and the dealers out
> Of some small blessings—have been kind to such
> As needed kindness; for this single cause,
> That we have all of us a human heart."*

The panegyric of the poet is just: his reason does not comprehend all the amiableness of the fact. It is not a "single cause:" his is but one of many.

We may especially applaud the commonalty for their domestic virtues. The prejudice, we know, is against this exemplification. General charges are alleged of unthriftiness and dissipation. The fact, however, demonstrates itself. The cottage is furnished; a weekly rent is paid; food is provided; clothing is obtained; medical attendance is requited. The

* Wordsworth.

credit, if allowed at all, is short. During this time, the remuneration of labour fluctuates, more frequently to decline than rise. Can the unsparing imputation of waste and improvidence be just? Can it with any fairness be generally pressed? It is easy to complain that the poor labourer has funded nothing for the period of scarcity and age. He never could be but on the verge of want. He has hardly commanded the barest necessaries of life. Except for the strictest precaution he must have suffered the loss of roof and the dearth of bread. Accusation of such a kind betrays and destroys itself.

The absence of envy characterises, in a very singular manner, our poorer fellow-countrymen. It can only astonish us that they acquiesce in arrangements of society which do not seem to meditate their good. It might, perhaps, be proved, that their interest is consulted, but the argument would be slow and abstract. They wait not for it, it may be that they could not appreciate it,—they have already bowed to their lot. It was assuredly unjust for the Roman Poet* to

* "Notante
Judice quo nôsti, populo; qui stultus honores
Sæpe dat indignis, et famæ servit ineptus;
Qui stupet in titulis, et imaginibus."

"According to the verdict of the crowd, whose fickleness thou well knowest,—who in their folly often confer honours on the unworthy, and in their misjudgment become slaves to a name: who are affected with strange amazement at inscriptions and statues."—Horat: Satir: lib. i. 6.

asperse the people for those dispositions which generously accorded the honours which their civil superiors had grasped. Similar dispositions we may now witness. Our poor delight in eminence of worth and goodness. They murmur not at the establishment of claims which they could never share. They do reverence to the monuments on which they know their name can never be engraved.

And instead of deploring the *independence* of our working people, we should deprecate their servility more than the boldest stubbornness of mien. In this there may be an ill-directed spirit. Though it be strong, it is controllable. It contains in it a capacity of greatness. But the independence which we would encourage is always properly modest and intelligent. It is the port of rectitude. It is the carriage of principle. It abhors the crooked and the mean. Let the artificer and the husbandman stand in the assurance and erectness of an important constituency. They are the essential strength of society. They are the brawny arms of the political body. They cannot be rent from the great system without its overthrow. Who are the labouring poor? Are they an excrescence, or a surplus, or an evil, of which we might rid ourselves? Honour to whom honour! They are the bank of our wealth! They are the fulcrum of our power! It may be difficult to find fixed data for the proportionate number of capitalists, money-changers, land-owners, and general distributors, — and also of the non-

producing classes, including women, infants, the sick and the infirm,—but we may still confidently determine, that the amount of the labouring, that is the producing, order, cannot be less than 6,218,660,—which is the third of the whole population. But are they only a mechanical momentum in the great progress of society? Let us not sneer at their mental influence on all. They do think, however penned upon the glebe, or imprisoned in the loom. Their intellectual nature, though feebly developed, cannot be extinguished. It is now, at least, earnestly awake. These deserve our respect. They glorify our country. They are the People! The Folk! The Nation! Speak of Estates! This is the Estate for which others merely can be named!

It is humiliating to human virtue when we trace through ages the same unworthy view of the many. The classic names are records of the contempt in which they are held. Οχλος, the multitude, is derived from the similar verb, to agitate and vex. Turba, the Latin name for the commonalty, contains the same idea. We carry it into our language when we speak of whatever can *disturb*. There is, at last, some truth in such disdainful phrase. There is an upward movement. The order which is lowest, in the metaphorical theory of society, really stirs every other which is above. Lowest it is not, save as the strong support of all. Were we to speak according to its relative value, we should unhesitatingly regard it as the highest. Its intentness

upon melioration is a disturbing principle, most just in itself, more conducive to the weal of all.

It is often made ground of complaint, that they who earn their bread by labour, are not now what they were. There are those who recall the reminiscences of distant times. They tell us of another state of things. Then the poor showed no desire of improvement. They were as easily driven as the herd. They believed all that was told them. They yielded to every claim which was demanded of them. Their minds were in the hand of a proprietor. Their souls were held by soccage and serfdom. They were virtually the subjects of purchase and transfer. Their cabins were rated as stalls, and their gardens as pastures. Beyond animal wants and appropriations and gambols, they were not to pass. That they no longer can be thus restrained, that higher prerogatives have been asserted by them, that they are not what too recently they were, gladly we concede. We rejoin as gladly, that to such debasement they can never be reduced. Is it to be deplored? Ought they not to rise in the scale of freedom, thought, and religion? Were they made for the rich or for themselves? Are they the instruments of our convenience, or constituted to seek out their own happiness? Where society is just, these things go together: but it is an unworthy view which he must take, who can think that any fellow-man is born to wear his livery, — to cringe at his nod, — and drudge for his pleasure.

If any individual has a perfect title to the recognition and protection of his rights, it is the poor man. Poverty must be always at a disadvantage in every struggle. Let them be declared, nor he be blamed that he demands them. The freedom of labour and the freedom of combination are not more than sufficient equipoise to the weight of counter influences. Surely the manly vindication of his charter is as patriotic as when some tyranny is thrown down. Why may he not stand for his defence? Is it not great in him to cast around him all the bulwarks of the law? May he not be forgiven for a jealous, a morbid, intentness upon his rights? Do not their scantiness make them precious? Is it not his solitary stake? Is it not his country's cause as truly as his own?

There is a benevolent, and there is an abasing, view of this large section of our people. It would not be easy to exculpate some, who have enounced their opinions, from the charge that they regard their poorer brethren as essentially inferior. They deal in cold contempt and lofty arrogance towards them. They look down upon them as a lower variety of the species,—as the vessels formed from a coarser clay. They are loud in their proclamations of destiny. These are born for labour! It is their only design and use! We are little disposed to meet these opinions as serious. If serious they be, they only excite disgust. The family of the aristocrat acquire a grace of education and a

care of fosterage, which the children of the rustic do not obtain: but is there not often deformity in the one contrasting with the beauty of the other? Have not the most vigorous intellects, those which have distinguished a land and created an æra, sprung from the humbler ranks of life? And is it to be borne that, in this Country and beneath the shadow of its generous Constitution, any of our people shall be marked out as hopelessly, inexorably, doomed to menial toil? Is it to be borne that some shall speak of others as created for their convenience and ease? Is it not the franchise of every man, if he have the opportunity and the ability, to exchange grosser for intellectual labour, a lower for a higher sphere? Is one of our race to be *kept down?* The benevolent view of man is that which anticipates and attempts his mental and moral elevation. It mourns his present condition. It does not believe that he is always to traverse the same cycle of failure and disappointment. It cannot bear to think of whole portions of the human family endlessly employed, only as material forces and animal powers are regulated. And while the poor are surveyed by some as a refuse to be swept away, and by others as only the means of production, the Christian philanthropist would invest them with their true immunities of reason, of improvement, of immortality. He does not desire to exempt them from labour. He knows that the hands of Paul wrought: that of Him, who was infinitely greater, it was asked, "Is not this the Car-

penter?"* No kind of labour that is needed for the good of society can degrade those who are engaged in it. Yet it will occur to his prophetic hope, that some of the dire hazards, the exhausting hardships, the wearisome hours, of present occupation may be relieved. He will indulge the confident expectation, that a leisure may be granted hereafter to the busy and the toiling which now they cannot know. The cheapness of food, consequent upon a freer intercourse and closer neighbourhood of nations, may greatly facilitate this remission. Mechanism may lift up man from the galling exaction of some of his actual pursuits. Polytechnic science may invent the instruments which shall dive as his substitute into the bowels of the earth. Be these exemptions, however, what they may, man shall not always be retarded in his progress, nor defrauded of his hope. If it be still ordained of him that he eat his bread in the sweat of his brow, on that brow shall be more legibly written the characters of immortality. If he be still required to go forth unto his work and to his labour until the evening, he shall be the pilgrim of sweet meditation and heavenward step, while the outgoings of the morning and the evening shall rejoice over him. A knowledge of the duties of his station will not disqualify him for their performance; nor will the consciousness of their utility extinguish his capacity for any satisfaction which may grow out of their discharge.

* Mark vi. 3.

There are two views, which we may take of the poor, well calculated to raise towards them our esteem and even plaudits. It is difficult for us to imagine sufferings drawn through an entire life. The difficulty is on every hour. Yet they bear their load patiently and cheerfully. And it is, also, to be doubted, whether any class of society be so strictly moral. The statement may at first surprise. It is the lie to general prejudice. Look upon their industry, their love and pride of children, their conjugal fidelity, their longing after home, their truth, their simple welcome of hospitality, their keen anguish of bereavement, their patience in illness, their confiding and grateful susceptibility,—think of these as enduring virtues, virtues transmitted through ages and generations, virtues inhering in their state, and the conclusion cannot be withstood, that the morals of no class have been more rigidly proved, more honourably sustained, more characteristically indicated.

Are they ignorant? They have been bound down in it. Are they vacillating? So often have they been deceived, they know not whom to trust. But when have they been dignified by responsibility, and have not fulfilled it? What had Athens been without its Demos, or Rome without its Plebs? If the one was wayward, was it not with the very sensitiveness of patriotism, and with the jealousy of any influence which might derange the balance of their social liberty? In the long exercise of the Tribunitial suffrage how

few mistakes did the other commit, and then not on the side of anarchy and misrule! The Ecclesiai of the Pnyx, and the Comitia of the Circus Flamininus, furnish numberless proofs that the popular mind may be sober, steadfast, and grave. The men who have looked upon the commonalty with a grudge of their power and a derision of their grossness, have often been smitten with involuntary admiration of their intelligence and virtue; recanting their prejudices and overpaying their errors,—like Machiavel, in a defence of despotism, pronouncing perfect panegyrics upon the people.*

If the Poor, by occasional restlessness and demand, excite the fears of the other orders of society, it is only fit to enquire, whether there be not sufficient ground for this dissatisfaction. General censures will not meet the case. True wisdom will see in every form of uneasiness and complaint only the indications of a great mental condition. It will seek those remedies which descend to the evil. It is vain policy to stave off any danger which lies in opinion or principle. What was Socialism but the loud want of the multitude excluded from great social advantages? What is Chartism but the importunate resentment of the multitude proscribed as politically nought? It is far better, in all such crises, even in popular commotions, to heal the wrong than to punish the remonstrance. The authority of law is only a means to an end:

* On the First Decade of Livy. Lib. i. cap. 58.

terrible example may repress: it leaves but an aggravated jealousy. The true dignity of States is seen in their calm impartiality, their forbearance of the ignorant, their redress of the aggrieved. There is nothing so formidable in the feelings of our population but which kindly measures, timely adopted, may reconcile and adjust. Their heart still is sound. They are irritated, and there may be cause. Search out that cause, and let the remedy be as searching. The great error is to mistake as the ills, what are only the symptoms. The ulcer, under this superficial treatment, rankles on. This is the folly of all class legislation. It maddens the people. This is the empiricism of a mawkish sensibility, which takes the people's labour from them and sells it away, and proposes thus to soothe them, while it cheats them of every civil trust. This is the refinement of torture. It is not too late to save them. But they cannot any more be blinded. They must be indemnified and guaranteed. No more look upon the surface save to suspect what works beneath. The simmering and bubbling of the cauldron forewarns us what may be its noxious vapours and fierce ebullitions.

There rises upon us a better prospect, as to the treatment of popular wrongs. Not many years have fled since, upon every commotion and agitation arising from unjust and oppressive courses, law was only armed in its terrors, and the sternest examples of its vengeance were dealt. To suppress the tumult, to crush

the plot, were the simple attempt. So far it was necessary: but this was all. There was no searching out of the cause. There was no redress of the visitation. Two Commissions have recently been sent forth, of a more healing character. Judges were not heralded into cities and towns for the punishment of offence. Enquiries were made into the state of things. Referees were constituted for every complaint. It is of the principle, the temper, of such provisions that we speak. They intimate another system. That which was conducted in Wales, has actually worked its good. That which was extended to Ireland, has brought to light the evils of uncertain tenure in a manner which promises their early extinction. This is the way to meet a people: it is true policy, it is Christian legislation.

It is high time that they who profess Christianity should entertain both kindlier and juster feelings towards our common humanity. We are too much swayed by the extrinsic. We narrow our interest too much by the caste. We owe more to man as man. He may make himself vile, but he cannot make himself indifferent. His greatness will burst forth in spite of all his humiliations. We ought to reckon with him according to his true capacity and being. We are bound to set store upon him according to his unseen and predicted worth. We must follow him forth into his futurities of existence. Where we cannot give our homage, we can but the less withhold our suspense.

What is the possible of such a creature! How tremendous are the alternatives which lie in the infinite of his duration!

Many writers suppose us inconsistent. They speak of man as unfallen. They regard him as now existing in his original condition. They treat him with scorn. They throw an air of ridicule around him. They mock and jeer him. They press us to unite with them in this contempt. They rely upon our concert, because of our avowed conviction that he is a degenerate creature. But our animadversions are of another kind. We cannot despise the lowest of the low, the vilest of the vile. We may shudder at their debasement. We may tremble for their doom. But our feelings are at the farthest remove from any sympathy with them who speak lightly of human nature. We see in it a fearful lapse. How different is their tone from ours! We regret it,—they make selfish use of it. We speak with pity,—they sport with it in scoff. We respect the original,—they see no trace of a higher state. We attempt its retrieval,—they despair. We behold in each individual man, the immortal, the charge of a Providence, the subject of an Atonement, the heir of an eternal Retribution. We mark the remains of greatness. We recognise the capacity and pledge of a restoration to that greatness. We see what was the innocence in the defilement. We learn the majesty from the ruins. Never will we consent to the disparagement of such a being!

The nature of man is the shoal on which all infidel philosophy, and, if it can be, all infidel benevolence, are wrecked. These cannot explain him. They mark contrasts in him which they cannot reconcile. The great and the little, the strong and the weak, the divine and the infernal, they cannot adjust. His origin they cannot deduce. His recovery they cannot meditate. They may explore all secrets, and master all difficulties, but this. Christianity alone makes it plain. Man is great but fallen, is strong but sinning, is divine but debased: *therefore* is he spiritually little, weak, infernal. It brings him back to spiritual greatness, strength, and divinity. It shows him all that he was, is, shall be. It explains the intermediate stages and processes. It accounts for all. Man! taught by this religion, I can abhor thee, dread thee, reverence thee, bemoan thee, shun thee, flee thee! But, O fearful, mysterious, being, I cannot slight thee!

There is something that may be regarded of the incidental and the adventitious in man, not affecting the intimacies of his nature. Of this kind are his secular connections, conditions, and pursuits. He is a kinsman, bound in ties of household and of relationship, but soon the stream of his life-blood will cease to flow. He is a citizen, held by many political duties, but soon the noblest empires will have faded from the world. He is linked to this earth as his local habitation, but soon the earth will have been

consumed in flames. He may have been rich or poor, exalted or depressed, influential or inert. But whatever he has been, and though all these revolutions overtake him, there is an essence in him, a self, which it is even awful to contemplate.

Let us conceive of two such men as they pass away from this present scene to realise the life to come. While inhabitants of earth, let them have filled the most extreme stations of society, restrained from every contact, and alienated from every sympathy. The affinities of the same nature may have not been attributed to them. They may have been practically regarded as different creatures. The one shall be the monarch,—surrounded by courtiers, heralds, guards,—revelling in luxuries to which every clime contributes,—holding the fate of nations on a nod. The other shall be the beggar, scorned by every eye, reviled by every tongue, spurned by every foot. The day has come when both must die,—the moment is common to their death. The first presses the couch of softest down, and reclines beneath the canopy of lofty state. The chamber is hung with embroideries, and is redolent of perfumes. The cordials of pain and weakness stand rife around the sufferer on tables of cedar and gold. The arras waves not to the lightest wind. The palace is hushed in silence. The corridor echoes to no step. The portal is disturbed by no entrance. An ominous stillness reigns. A nation is motionless in suspense. An empire scarcely breathes. The

second drags himself to the dunghill, and, without a soothing word or an alleviating office or an affectionate tear, gasps alone. It is at this appointed moment that their spirits break away! Two souls are on the wing! Two souls are tracking their way to their final account! Pursue, if you can, their course! Ascertain, if you can, their condition! Tell us, which is the monarch's, which is the beggar's, soul! By what impressions do you recognise, by what marks do you distinguish, them? You know not either by its robes or by its rags! All such things are left below. The funeral, of royal state and of pauper meanness, has committed their equal bodies to the earth, and their equal souls have been weighed in the balances of a common immortality!

CHAPTER III.

ON THE PRINCIPAL DIVISIONS OF THE LABOURING COMMUNITY.

TIME was when our countrymen united every employment; they delved the soil, they wove the fleece. The consequence was, that the agriculture was as crude as the manufacture, and the manufacture was as humble as the agriculture. Great immigrations brought with them their trades, and established among us their staples. These were deemed so helpless at first, that they were defended by incorporation and privilege. But now our woollen, cotton, and silk, fabrications have drawn out an immense amount of artizans, and we commonly divide the people into agricultural and manufacturing. Cicero made the same distinction in his day; but while we quote him, we must not thoughtlessly prejudge the case between these classes as he has done. In his Oratoriæ Partitiones, sect. 25, he writes: "Et quoniam non ad veritatem solum, sed etiam ad opiniones eorum, qui audiunt, accomodanda est oratio; hoc primum intelligamus, hominum duo esse genera; alterum indoctum et *agreste*, quod anteferat semper utilitatem honestati; alterum *expolitum*,

quod rebus omnibus dignitatem anteponat. Itaque huic generi laus, honor, gloria, fides, justitia, omnisque virtus; illi autem alteri, quæstus, emolumentum, fructusque proponitur, atque etiam voluptas, quæ maxime est inimica virtuti, bonique naturam fallaciter imitando adulterat."* The whole truth may be in neither allegation, and to balance the opposite columns something may be required to pass from the one to the other.

Perhaps in no land of earth is this distinction of labourers more marked and more equipoised than in our own. Rival interests are supposed to arise between them, and, however only putative, these keep them apart and excite frequent irritation. To adjust all questions of jealousy is the part of the statesman; and he feels his way to be slow and difficult among the competitors. Perhaps a new light begins to fall upon him, a simple light, a light from heaven. If he will follow it, it will save him from a thousand perplexities. It teaches him to leave commerce to the

* "Since the Oration must be adapted not only for the announcement of truth, but to the opinions of those who listen, we ought to be fully aware that men divide themselves into two classes: the first, ill-taught and rustic, who always prefer the useful to the refined,—the second, the courtly, who set the highest value upon reputation. The whole intentness of the latter is upon fame, nobility, glory, faithfulness, justice, and every excellence: that of the former is on gain, advantage, acquisition, and even that grosser enjoyment, which is most opposed to virtue, and corrupts by its too successful imitation of happiness."

winds and the waves, husbandry to the clouds and the seasons: not to weaken their strength by bounties, nor to hamper their elasticity by protections.

These respective divisions of our population are characterised by particular features. It would seem that the difference is not accidental; but that it arises from the necessary circumstances of the parties, and from the nature of their several occupations.

It immediately strikes us, on comparing the two, that the one is always more condensed and the other more scattered. The first is more civic, the second more rural. The manufacturing town and the commercial port will sometimes exceed in the number of their inhabitants an entire county. It is a crowded hive of men. Every spot is covered with buildings: every nook teems with life. You gaze upon another scene. There are beheld, wide-diffused, the farm-house and grange of the yeomanry, and the humbler dwellings of their servants. The roads are generally of a kind to prevent easy communication. The meetings of these sons of the soil are the hurried passages of the market. They exist by themselves.

Nor can it be denied that the thick settlement of a population is favourable to its intellectual development. Mind acts upon mind with a necessary force. This effect must be proportioned to proximity and collision. Both these influences are in operation in the supposed case. Men throng upon each other, and the claim of each requires a very nice attention.

Every interest is to be secured. Institutions come easily into existence. These soothe and elevate and polish. When men are dispersed, it is a too common misfortune that mental hebetude succeeds. Associations are almost impossible. Neighbourhood brings not its excitements to improve, nor its inconveniences to redress. A facility of life may induce its stupor.

Though agriculture is daily becoming a more scientific pursuit,—having its proper chymistry,—guided by new plans of tillage and draining,—receiving manures from distant shores,—holding out the hope of a very enlarged production,—yet, in the ordinary processes of its labour, it has been simple and unarousing. The annual drama awakes poet and moralist, but it can little raise the soul of the hind. He toils on, and, in his round of humble errands, there is little call for mental effort. His implements are scanty, and are not imaginative. The manufacturing labourer is always in sight of suggestions to thought and research. His motive power is as a fairy charm and a giant force; combining the grace of the altar's incense with the heaving of the volcano's fury. The presence of such an agency can scarcely fail to cause reflection.

Since it generally happens that a few powerful minds produce the movements of opinion around them, we need not wonder that the information of the town is generally larger than that of the country. Active spirits look for meet audience and remuneration. They are best supported by the many; out of the many

they find the appreciating few. The means of knowledge and the stimulants of investigation are discovered in every place of resort. Every town is not, indeed, manufacturing: but manufacture almost invariably colonises in towns.

We cannot, we would not, for the moment suppose, that agricultural pursuits are, of their own nature, unfavourable to intellectual development. They ally themselves with genuine science. They lay open the wonders of the vast laboratory of earth. They seem most necessarily attentive to the moral of the seasons. But we have to discourse of facts. We do not see the equality of the hind and the farmer, with the workman and the manufacturer. We have adduced some of the causes. These operate with no certain influence upon all tillers of the soil. Many of this class, in different parts of the world, are not less intelligent than the citizen and operative. These, however, are dependent upon none other. They are bound by no seigniory nor feudalism. They cultivate their own lands. They are erect in allodial rights. It is difficult to understand, when the principal landed property of a country is in the hands of those who do not occupy it, how the landlord shall not use a power, and the tenantry suffer an ascendancy, which virtually place the respective parties in the relation of a chieftain to his clan.

But against the quick, astute, excitable, intellect, which is commonly allowed to a dense population,—at least if that density be the effect of manufactures,

—many contrasts are set up in favour of the predial race. It is contended that urban labour is engrossing, unhealthy, and demoralising, while agricultural occupation is unattended by these evils. As both are necessary, it would be very undesirable that the labouring classes of the country should be so differently and unequally placed. It may not be improper, therefore, to examine the charge.

The employment of *families* in the manufacturing districts is thought to be a very serious disadvantage. The wife, the child, as well as the husband, are frequently, it is stated, employed in the same mill. Wives, children, husbands, it is admitted, are so employed, but they rarely are members of the same household. If it *were* so, if it *could* be so, at least there would be domestic supervision. But in our fields is there no employment of women and children? Does not the traveller descry on every side those groups constantly busy on the soil?*

* It is not, however, to be understood from the above remarks, that we affirm, by any means, the *equal* employment of females and children in agriculture with those occupied in manufactures. An analysis of the "Occupation Returns" of the Census Commissioners of 1841, establishes the following, as the respective ratios of Employment for the several Classes enumerated, in Trade and in Agriculture.

	MALES.		FEMALES.	
Agricultural Classes.	10 Years of Age up to 20.	20 Years and upwards.	10 Years up to 20.	
Great Britain	59·9	5	0·4	
Manufacturing and Trading Classes.				
Great Britain	57·5	20	22·5	
Lancashire	78·8	32·6	50·5	
Bradford	60	31	54	
Halifax	54	23	42	

The influence of manufacturing labour on *health* has been loudly asserted, and no doubt is suffered to rest in most minds as to its injuriousness and fatality. The ruddy complexion of the villager is not seen on the cheek of the artizan. The best tended child of the city is not flushed as is the peasant boy and girl. The atmosphere is different in these respective localities. The one has the less healthy, the other the more healthy, air. In comparison, however, of factories and cottages in the same town, it is believed that there can be no question as to the better ventilation. Drier, warmer, freer in circulation, these mighty chambers are opposed most favourably to the rooms of the poor. If this be thought still further evidence against such form of life, it would be easy to show that the cottage-houses of the poor in towns are in every way preferable, within the walls, to the cabins of the rural poor. But is the effect of agricultural labour duly considered? The figure of the manufacturer continues erect, until age bows it: that of the agrestian early learns to stoop, and the bent head and shoulder are not the awkward carriage of the body, but they reveal its oppressed powers. Every observer must have marked this frequent deformity.

It might surprise those who have only read a certain preparation of Parliamentary evidence, who have received their impression of the manufacturing system from idle or prejudiced rumour, who take for granted that the children of the mill must be distorted in form

and stunted in growth, who would expect to find the streets of the Northern towns filled with spectres of famine and disease, with unsightly shapes and aspects, —it might surprise such persons to enter the Sabbath Schools which there abound and flourish. Let them pass along row after row, let them pause at group after group. Where can children be found better fed, better clothed, better tended, — more sprightly, more intelligent, more happy? Whit-Monday is the common Sabbath School Holyday of those parts. Would that the maligners of factories beheld that spectacle! The health, the neatness, the joyance, of that anniversary might strike them with shame and turn them to truth! It is a Pentecost to convince the gainsayer and the churl.

The greater *happiness* of the agricultural labourer is affirmed. But so long as happiness is a general word, this assumption is gratuitous. To many, a brutal existence suggests the only idea of happiness, which would be interrupted and marred by thought and study. If they be right, every man is more happy as he recedes from the means and provocatives of intelligence,—that is, as he becomes less and less the man. But the animal happiness of every day must mainly depend upon the satisfaction of our natural cravings. And do we imagine that the skilled labourer is only doomed to struggle with privation, and that the countryman riots in fulness of bread? Where is this Arcadia of sylvan bliss? Where are the regions

through which these Georgics sound? The peasantry of this country is very generally in a most degraded condition. Their food, their apparel, their lodging, are much below those of the manufacturing vicinage. Or, is happiness to be computed by liberty? We deny not that despotism is the temptation and abuse of power in all circumstances. But we are quite sure that, if the proprietor of the mill were to attempt the exercise of his influence in the same manner with which landowners threaten their tenants and tenants their servants, they would presently feel the impotence of their endeavour and the ridicule of their position. It may be said, that at least the field-labourer knows not confinement, but is refreshed by the breath and light of heaven. All this may be preferable; but it is a tethered freedom still; it is a drudgery, in many of its duties, which is not envied by the craftsman: it is an exposure to the skiey influences which might be often cheerfully exchanged for the mansion of mechanical art.

They who are acquainted with the country-life of England, its "rural reign," cannot fail to be surprised at the panegyrics which certain orators declaim on that class of its population. We speak mainly of the Southern counties. We forget not exceptions even there. That population is ground down to the earth. It is well-nigh pauperised. We honouringly contrast its patience, its contentment, its cheerfulness, with its treatment. Half-fed and that often on a miserable

pulse, wages reduced to the lowest point of sustentation, through every hour hanging on abject conditions, every expression of personal preference in religion and politics scornfully denied,—we may wonder at their forbearance. They are often cared for less than the clod of the valley, or the herd of the stall. Soils shall be improved. Breeds shall be perfected. Stock shall be adjudged with honour. Cultivation shall be assisted with every experiment and be rewarded with every prize. And then, when some monstrous growth, some crass carcase, some field implement, has been lauded to the echo which applauds again,—a poor labourer is introduced, and he shares in the honours of the show, for having brought up so many children without parish pay! Nature and ingenuity have been racked in the other instances of success, and surely not the less in this! It is an appropriate climax to the fete! An admiring district can scarcely determine where the greater glory of invention falls!

The question of the comparative morality of these departments is, of all, the most important. It is not to be decided by a glance. It is commonly taken for granted that the country is the favourite scene and haunt of the virtues. The cottier is the Adamite dressing his plat on the outer fence of Eden. The village green and oak might be the neighbourhood of Mamre. Here simplicity has received no blight, and purity no taint. Pastorals fill the air, and the melody of woods and brooks swells the chant of native reeds. But

there may be observers who yield to no such romance. They yet hold that, in the rural portions of the kingdom, there is a more spotless state of morals. Now will it be contended that there is in them as exalted sense, as generous practice, of morals as is often demonstrated in our city-marts? Is it maintained that the vices of our towns are not rife in our villages? Perhaps the complaint simply respects the number of the offences. Our County calendars must determine that. Then do we feel bold in the argument, that the most numerous and most odious crimes come not from the towns, but from scattered hamlets and solitary dwellings. The Quarter Sessions, it will be said, dispose of cases that come from the towns, and they are not heard of in the gaol delivery of the shire. But these enormities, wherever committed, must go to the higher court. And are there not Sessions for the counties and divisions of counties, as well as for the boroughs? Let the truth,—it is extorted from those who are impartial,—be simply told. The proportion of criminals to every thousand inhabitants is higher in Worcestershire than in Middlesex, and is equal to that of Lancashire. Herefordshire exceeds Leicestershire. Dorset surpasses Nottinghamshire. The county of Oxford is on a par with that of Stafford. Does this account justify the transcendence of rural, over municipal, order and virtue? It may not be improper to throw a classical relief over the comparison. Where did the ancient Mythology place

its most monstrous forms? In the gardens, by the streams, among the woods. There range Pan and Silenus: the Sylvani, the Satyrs, the Fauns. The Dryads are also there. They approach not the cities nor disfigure the towns.

The manufacturing and the agricultural provinces have sometimes been in a state bordering upon insurrection. The cause has been some imputed grievance. When the flail was to be superseded by the thrashing machine, the farmers' men were roused to phrenzy. Their revenge was not only against the machine,—which might be expected,—but upon the stacked corn. Now this was blind and wicked. Incendiarism is still the crime of the day. It stalks with its brand among the fairest gardens of our country. It spreads on every hand suspense and panic. Very recently there rose up a band of marauders in the trading districts, gathering the idle and the vicious as it advanced. It was an invasion. It insisted on the universal suspension of manufacture. Its plea was the injustice of existing wages. Save in one spot, and nearly where the tumult begun, there was no depredation on property; in no instance was there violence on life, except in withstanding force. With this wild proceeding, this profligate interference, there was little sympathy. It was rightly judged and strongly condemned. "A poor man that oppresseth the poor is like a sweeping rain which leaveth no food."* Like a torrent it died

* Prov. xxviii. 3.

away. Between the two courses of proceeding there was almost every advantageous contrast on the side of the manufacturing workmen. There was no deep-laid plot, no vindictive passion, no long-sustained resistance, no midnight concealment, no cowardly agent, no reckless devastation. The power for mischief was for days uncontrollable, but it was spontaneously stayed. It differed much in this. The one was an agrarian rebellion, the peasantry taking a general part in it, or harbouring those who did. It lasted for years. Its dastard fires still blaze. The other was a rolling movement from the extreme verge of the manufactures: it was precipitated upon an unwilling people: it sought a definite, though most lawless, purpose: amidst the most easy opportunities of plunder, it resolutely adhered to that purpose: after a few days, for all the wreck it left behind, it might not have been. Never did faction more utterly fail, and that through the sound sense and Christian principle of the people on whom it so vainly sought to practise.

It is well known that this irruption gradually diminished in its progress through Yorkshire. An irregular sally might be expected to lose strength in proportion to the distance. But it never repaired the loss. The people felt that it was fatuous and self-destructive. They never breathed wish as to its success. Leeds,—marked out for ignorance and cruelty by none who know it,—was the formidable pass most dreaded by this bandit-multitude. "We have nothing to hope

for there,"—cried the leaders,—"there are too many Sunday Schools!"*

The proper education of the people ought to be pursued in no party spirit. It excited no surprise, that the children of the manufacturer were often neglected. It was made matter of enquiry, but it was known and allowed before. It was for a lamentation. Vicious habits destroy self-respect, and corrupt the sense of relative responsibility. The focal knowledge of great communities supposes not the illumination of each constituent. But surprise was felt, sudden and indignant, when the pitch and extent of education among the rural districts were absolutely rated higher than in the great emporiums of cunning device and production. It startled all. The bravado overreached itself. It is outrageously untrue. It is characterised by that hardihood of assertion which is commonly adopted to appease a misgiving conscience and to bolster a defenceless cause. In what manufacturing district could a parish be found abutting on a city with its

* And why should the Author suppress this anecdote, now that his beaver is up? A town more upright in its character, more noble in its race, does not exist. His lot, when little more than a penniless boy,—his independence had made him this, though other were his accidents of birth and inheritance!—was to be cast among this community. It was far from home and kindred. He entered it amidst every adversity and depression. It received him. It has sustained him. It still encourages him. God do so to him, and more also, ere he will join the rank of its satirists and calumniators! Esto perpetua!

noblest cathedral, containing the baronial residence of one who is a true pillar of the State, with two churchwardens, two surveyors, two guardians, the only functionaries in it, and two cannot read, two cannot write, and only two can both read and write? Of what county, the seat of mechanical art, could a bold rebuker declare, and his charge be for a moment undenied, that half of its inhabitants could not read?

In the Fifth Report (1843) of the Registrar General, we observe one of those facts which are very conclusive as to the ignorance which prevails in particular portions of the country. The signature of the parties who are married must be by *mark*, if they cannot write their names. The general fact is lamentable, that 33 in 100 men, and 49 in 100 women, should have so subscribed themselves. But let us mark the difference between municipal and agricultural districts. In the Metropolitan divisions only 11 men in the 100 were thus compelled to sign: in Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridgeshire, there were 47; in Bedfordshire, 49; and in Herts, 50.

The question of the larger or smaller mortality among the inhabitants of town and country has, of late years, been urgently discussed. When it is recollected that there is no population in any part of the world so shut up in large communities, the enquiry becomes most interesting. Civic residence is our peculiarity. But the distribution is very unequal.* The

* M'Culloch's Statistical Account of the British Empire.

county of Lincoln, (we proceed on the Population Returns of the year 1841) contains more acres than any other, save Yorkshire, which is always considered as three counties under different Lords Lieutenant. Next to Lincoln is Devonshire in its extent: the former comprising 1,671,040 acres; the latter, 1,654,400. Now being great agricultural districts, what is the number of their inhabitants? Lincoln only counts 362,602. Devon only comprehends 533,460. Let us now take two manufacturing regions. Lancashire consists of fewer acres than either of the foregoing, namely 1,130,240,—that is, less by no inferior measurement than above half a million. But what is its population? 1,667,054: that is, a million and beyond a quarter of inhabitants more than Lincoln: and a million and beyond a hundred thousand above Devon. The West-Riding of Yorkshire contains 1,648,640 acres. Its population is 1,154,101. This space is less by 22,400 acres than Lincoln, and 5760 than Devon; but it exceeds the population of the first by seven hundred and ninety-one thousand, four hundred and ninety-nine; and that of the second by six hundred and twenty thousand, six hundred and forty-one. This calculation will make it obvious that, in Lancashire and the West-Riding, there is a very great density of population. Now this is not generally favourable to health. Land being very valuable, streets are confined and houses are huddled together. The Sanitary Report of large towns is, therefore, in general unpromising.

This is considered, however, unfairly. It is employed to prove the unhealthiness of manufactures. But the closeness of residences is only an accident. Is employment in the factory detrimental to health and life? We have not yet seen it proved. If there be excess of labour in the mill or in the field, it must be injurious, and there are no terms sufficiently strong to denounce it. If children should be so oppressed, if they be overworked to deformity, these lines are intended for no apology,—The Lord look upon it and require it! If casualties arise in the use of machinery from gross neglect, not one word shall pass us to extenuate such reckless barbarity. But are these employments mischievous? The attention should, in justice, be restricted to this. The town of Leeds has been thus put forth to an unhappy prominence. It may not be salubrious: but are its mechanical employments the cause of so low a figure as indicates its mortality? Now, in the first place, the labourers of every kind, in every town, are deemed most likely victims of early death. The Poor Law Commissioners have made their Report upon the comparative chances of life in different places, but the average ages are always in this order,—gentlemen and professional men and their families the highest, —tradesmen and their families the next,—and labourers, artizans, and others similarly employed, and their families, are placed at the lowest point of the scale. And this is found, not only in the Whitechapel and

the Strand Unions, London,—in Kensington Union, perhaps its most healthy suburb,—but in counties such as Rutland, Wiltshire, and Westmoreland. It seems the law. We are not called to explain it. But is it not alike the law? It is so in Leeds, a thorough manufacturing town, covered with a dim canopy of smoke, ill-built and ill-drained, whose water, until very lately, imbibed the deposits of all its feculence, all its manufacturing and dyeing lees. And yet Liverpool, not a manufacturing town, with every advantage of acclivity to a mighty estuary, with transparent atmosphere, with municipal opulence, reckons against the 20 deaths of children at Leeds, no fewer than 60; and Bath opposes to the same number 32 deaths. These are children of the first class: but also to 2245 deaths of servants in Leeds, Liverpool gives 4004. The Wiltshire Unions furnish as large a rate of deaths at particular ages between 10 and 20 years, as the reputedly shortest lived town in the kingdom. But examine that town. If manufacture be the cause of its mortality, all parts of it will nearly be the same. But there is a discrepancy in different wards of one death to the whole population in 23, and of one to 36. That locality has much to do with it is evident, for the proportion of deaths in the environs of the Metropolis, and of Manchester and Leeds, is less than among the highest classes in two of the agricultural counties.* Allowance is, of

* Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Class, &c.

course, to be made in the above estimates for the relative size of the towns and their respective populations.

There are adverse propositions offered by certain theorists,—one tells us that it would be no loss to the country if every factory were swallowed up, and another, a poetaster, cares not what be wrecked so that our old nobility be saved. This may be a very lofty and generous vein. In the mean while, a serious business remains: a people must be fed. The question is not, what might be best in other circumstances; but, what is to be done in ours? The manufacturing districts are constantly increasing in population. In 1811 the agricultural population were as 352 in the 1000 of the whole. In 1821 they decreased to 332. In 1831 they declined to 281. In 1841 they had sunk to 232. Calculating by the same ratio, in 1861 they will be reduced to 175. The manufacturing population had multiplied proportionately on one-third of the area of the country. They are now, in that narrow space, 54 per cent. of the entire population; while, on the other two-thirds, the agricultural population is only 46 per cent. out of the whole. In the manufacturing seats, the poor-rates are only 4s. 10d. per head, while in the agricultural they are 7s. 10d. Here is, then, the refuge for what otherwise would be a superfetate population. And yet this is the system to be swept away! What would be the condition of the farming counties if all who claimed settlement

in them were driven back upon them! What would be the sustentation of the labourer if all the crowded regions of manufacture were thinned of those who did not belong to them by birthright, and only rural occupation was left! What would be the indescribable disproportion of labour to hands, and of food to mouths, if there were an equable dispersion and distribution of the population over the soil, and nothing but its tillage spared for their reward!

The invective against the Factory, against its encroachment upon the retreats of Nature, against its wild disturbance of her quiet and sacrilegious profanation of her sanctity,—setting itself amidst woodland and lake, by dingle and river,—might but amuse. Wordsworth and Whitaker can rail in good round terms. Poet and Antiquarian stint not phrase nor temper.

But Prejudice has blindly assailed the manufacturing system of the kingdom. One of the chief charges against it is, its infant labour. This is accused as the reason of such frequent early deaths. Yet the figure, however large, of that mortality, points to ages of life long before youthful labour can commence. Such labour never did exist. Children's labour certainly does. Their probable sphere of life is that of industry, and to industry they should be trained. Their education, however scanty, depends upon the price of their industry. It may be a stern necessity. But if mechanic life be miserable, if the

crowded population which it collects is degraded, may not these put in some little claim to forbearance of censure? Ought they not to be commiserated? The fabric must be produced. Not less of wool and cotton and silk are to be wrought. And yet all that is associated with human efforts, and natural agents, is to receive high and overbearing scorn! There may be doomed to live in these noisy and smoky neighbourhoods those who once sported in the mountain breeze and on the ocean wave. They shrunk, it may be, when they first caught sight of their future habitation: "Is this the region, this the soil, the clime?" High purposes have made them willing to share every disadvantage of the scene. But would they have looked unmoved on cruel wrongs and truculent oppressors? Could they be silenced? Could they be bribed? Have they not championed the claims of the child, the operative, the decrepit? We enquire, in simple wonder, how it is that the trade of manufacture must be mean, while the trade of agriculture is noble? Trade is the employment of capital in labour upon some work of God. The raw material may be flax, or it may be land. Each is the subject of change. There is the fine linen. There is the abundant harvest. The producers of food are worthy of all honour, but not more than the producers of that which gives food its social value. Food cannot of itself be riches. It is to be sold, it is to be exchanged for other commodities, and then the country is filled with plenty. We

have not to cross wide seas to certify this. A country may be a granary: its hills covered with flocks, its fields waving with fruits, and yet its people famish. *The money is not in the sack's mouth.* That corn must be turned into means of barter, that it may be eaten. Thus only can commonwealths become strong and great. Instead of being ashamed of factory and shop, we see in them the freight of our ships, the wealth of our colonies, the life of our commerce. But there is a nobler defence. The Medicean princes, the offspring of trade, scarcely were more true to literature than have been our successful traffickers. Mark the Portico and Athenæum of our towns. Observe the schools and institutions of learning. Here, too, freedom finds its favoured refuge. The law of opinion goes forth from thence and rules the land. These are the busy scenes in which principles are tested, truths discovered, and experiments assured. They may have a fault in the esteem of a constantly diminishing feudalism. It is the power which their knowledge gives: it is the improvement which their inquisitiveness accelerates: it is the liberty which their intelligence demands. Extinguish the manufacturing system of your country, and even if you could yet till your land and meet your debt,—knowledge would have lost its firmest hold, and independence be driven from its noblest asylum!

Our country must become more and more civic. There is none other option, were it to be craved. She

must stand forth with her walls as well as her fields, and those walls must still encroach upon those fields. Her agriculture may increase in its production, but its area must be narrowed. Yet this prospect awakens no reasonable fear. The arable soil will always incomparably exceed that on which stand the dwelling-places of man. But if Britain can hold her place among the powers of the earth, it must be as a trading nation. None other means can sustain her increasing offspring or her mighty state. Wants are pressing upon her, duties are springing from those wants, which would distract the policy of any other land. Let her not listen to the raven-cry of men who can only see the present, and who but ill remember the past. She wants true watchmen and seers. She calls for those who can espy afar. New circumstances demand new measures. Yet how plain is her path, beset as it is with difficulties, if she will but go right forward in it! Let her remember whence she derives her wealth, and gratefully requite its producers! And who are they? Not the chaplet of flowers, not the cornucopia of fruits, may express her greatness: she does not dispense with such emblems,—like Cybele, they are painted on her robe, they are clustered in her hand,—but she bears the turret on her head, and hers is a towered brow!

CHAPTER IV.

ON THE KIND OF EDUCATION ADAPTED TO THE POOR.

WHATEVER religious knowledge may be necessary for one human being, must be essential for all. The ground on which this knowledge rests, cannot be changed to any. We are in equal need of salvation, though our social circumstances are most unequal. The monarch and the peasant are in one moral dilemma of guilt and depravity: they are addressed by the same gospel. Nor can they receive it in different ways: personal conviction is the only medium for both. We know that we here combat a prejudice. It is supposed that the religion of the poor must be adopted on some State-dictate,—upon the authority of some living, docent, tribunal,—upon an indirect, mediate, power of earth which may overawe the popular mind. How, it is asked, can the humbler orders investigate the question? How can they understand it? Must they not leave themselves in the hands of others? Is not individual responsibility lost in their actual position? But we may reply,—Suppose that they must be abandoned to the dogmatic instructions

of some such guide, which guide ought it to be? Have all Churches the same claim? How are they to determine between the better, and the worse, supported title? Here is, then, the original difficulty,—the selection of the Guide. If man must not choose his religion, he must at least select the party which shall teach a religion to him. He will find this far more perplexing than to decide upon the true religion. However this argument be put, it obviously is circular and vicious. But another difficulty starts into view. Until persuaded in his *own* mind, it is *not* religion. So long as he leans on ecclesiastical or popular assumption, his faith is in the wisdom of man and not in the power of God. He must believe from the heart, on the credibility of the gospel testimony as a Divine record; he must believe for himself. The Christian evidence, in this its greatest department, is as applicable to those of narrow, as to those of ample, learning. For its most convincing argument is in its correspondence to the wants of our nature. It meets our case. Its "words do good." They detect, they rebuke, they heal. "He who believeth hath the witness in himself." The poor may close with this "demonstration of the Spirit." It is the internal, or more properly, the experimental proof. The philosopher and the mechanic must appreciate it in like manner. The one has little advantage over the other. To speak, therefore, of giving a religion to the poor,—of doling only so much of it as their

humble mind can receive, or lowly lot may require, —of calling for their assent on the simple requirement of others who think themselves more enlightened,—of shifting accountability from them to those who undertake and enforce their stewardship,—savours of the most profane usurpation, and is "the merchandise of the souls of men." What right has any man, or has any community of men, thus to bring conscience into subjection, thus to arrogate dominion over the faith of their fellows, thus to grasp the "things which are God's?"

The Religious Education necessary for the poor is, therefore, very much the same as that which is wanted for the affluent classes: it is "the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus our Lord." It is not our secular position which is the ground of this exigency: we require it as men, as sinners, as immortals. They who form the debasing view of religion, that it is more needed by the poor, and that it is the fitting engine of a vile policy to perpetuate their depression, deserve no other reply but our indignant scorn. Religion is a mock-word on their lips. But we see in it the birthright and the discipline of an immortal soul: to all souls it is consequently alike indispensable. "This is life eternal, to know thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent!"

That all knowledge should be accompanied by Christianity, is only saying, that Christianity is so

important that it should give temper to all our pursuits. To say that all knowledge should be based on Christianity, is little short of absurd. Almost every province of science lies out of the field of Revelation. Both possess independent grounds. The Scripture was no more intended to teach us science, than science can be qualified to take the place of Scripture. It is sufficient to remark, that any education is most seriously deficient to which true religion is not attached as its best motive and consecrating element.

It would be impossible to trace the extent of injurious influence upon the public mind of certain prospectûs of education. Religion has been prominently placed and urged. With this we can have no dissatisfaction. Christianity, the religion of salvation by the Cross of Christ, cannot be made too public and disciplinary in moral training. But it is deeply to be deplored that this has been frequently recommended, not for its high purpose and proper end, but as the source of "peace, order, and social happiness." This is to convey an impression that the ease and quiet of a government are principally sought. It seems to imply that an unenquiring and compliant people is all that is desired. Man is not set out in these proposals as any thing more than the humble, if not abject, creature made for the state. Where is the recognition of his immortality? Where is the consulted benefit of the individual man? He is confounded as is the drop with the sea. Nor is it to be less regretted that

the strongest advocacy of Christianity, as a portion of instruction, has often been urged as a *corrective* of knowledge. Lest the human mind should too suddenly open, too soaringly rise, this was to be the regulating principle, if not the powerful check. What was this but to insinuate that knowledge was a danger? Little would this conciliate the opponent of Christianity. What was this but to place our holy faith as the centinel and gaoler over knowledge? Little would this accredit Christianity to the world.

But should we be told that, if religion do not attend and direct the teachings of the human mind, general knowledge must be injurious, we instantly declare against the sentence. We see in the spread of sound information, and in the enlargement of human faculty, a great antidote of vulgar errors and crimes. We are sure, all things being equal, that the least tutored mind will be most addicted to the grosser vices. Knowledge, like every blessing, may be abused to evil: ignorance can never be turned to good. If knowledge may be, in its perverse misapplication, an uncertain good; ignorance is, in every way, only a necessary evil. Give any knowledge, worthy of the name, without, if you cannot give it with, religion. You secure a great present advantage. Religion would have made it perfect and eternal.

We think that deplorable mistakes have been committed in the religious instruction of children. Their infancy has been taught what their youth has been

obliged to unlearn. Christianity is a system of revelation, dogmatic and complete. Its great and saving truths, to have their due effect, must be published without reserve. Let the youngest scholar be taught the doctrines of the Trinity, the Divine Incarnation of the Eternal Son, the Atonement of the Cross, Pardon and Justification by faith, the necessity and fruits of the Spirit's Regenerating influence, the grounds and motives of evangelic obedience; and he will understand the truth and power of such doctrinal facts, as well as the philosopher, and their mystery not less. The hold of these blessed verities on the mind cannot be too early given, and beautiful is it to see these young disciples trained to the simple confidence of those things which "angels desire to look into." There is no hosannah so sweet, as that which they sing, in all the temple!

Nor can it be unimportant, in the present day, to make the explanation and defence of Protestantism a very prominent article in our schools. The anti-christian usurpation is healed of its wound. It puts forth an unwonted vigour. It rests on a hardihood of assertion, a recklessness of evidence, which it has scarcely ever adventured before. Where it cannot obtrude, it casts its dark and blighting shadow. It has power when itself is unseen. "It was, and is not, and yet is." An active and specious sub-agency is stalking through the land. Its ambition is to seize all the seats of learning, and carry into captivity the

mind of the nation. Children should be taught to detect its fallacies and deride its sophisms. A few counter-strokes of historic truth and inverted allegation will enable the infant to break the toils spread for its unwary steps.

In this connection we are the stout advocates of Catechetical methods and forms. It is recorded that Socrates so instilled his sentiments into the minds of his pupils. Two thousand years have invented nothing wiser. At this hour we see, in heaps, scientific and political publications, based upon the interrogative system. Why should we surrender so well-contrived an instrument for teaching religion? Why yield to a clamour which really is directed against the religiousness of the instruction, and against religion itself? Why compromise ourselves, that we may receive a tribute to our liberalism? Why abandon that which our enemies have imitated, and often wielded against us? Why reject the experience of human nature? Why start aside from the prudence and practice of every church and community?

The education, intended for the labouring class, ought only to be more abridged than that of any other class, because of circumstances. Less time can be devoted to it than the children of the opulent can spare. The cost of the higher branches of knowledge precludes their common attainment. Equal education is, therefore, impossible. By "separating himself" from other cares, only "can a man seek and

intermeddle with all wisdom." If the operative could reach the present scale of training among those who live at ease, he would see that scale recede from him to as distant a remove as that where it now stands. He may raise himself: but we speak not concerning the individual, only of the class. There is not proscription. All of heaven-born genius may rise. One and another strikes aside from the beaten track. The giant throws off the mountain which lay upon him. The children, whose probable lot is labour, are taught how honourable labour is. Betimes they ought to be employed in it, or, if it be suddenly imposed, it will awake an unconquerable dislike. Habits of industry must be formed. The school should be one of industry as well as of general knowledge. A long seclusion in study is therefore impossible. Their powers are needed for the means of supporting themselves and their families. We will now enquire into the methods which might be pursued.

We can but place ourselves in firm resistance to the theory which urges, as the final cause of education, the mere preparation of men for particular positions in society. Bring them up, it is said, for what they are to be. Teach them the parts they are to perform. Where this destination is certain, the discipline may be so directed. It ought not, nevertheless, to stop at that point. But how is this to be foretold? Still it is at best a low, unworthy, view. We say, Educate man as man, for what he is, for what he can

only be, as accountable and immortal man. Incline your instructions to his probable pursuits and duties on earth. Give not, however, to these your stress. They are comparatively little matters. Chiefly awake the moral sense. Draw out the soul. Enthrone the conscience. Leave out of your consideration, for a while, every idea of earthly circumstance, condition, lot. Eternity must be your mark. Here is the man. He is only great in his intellectual and moral nature. He stands before you with all his awful capacities. Educate him! Your process must answer to him! Your purpose must answer to him! Teach him aright, and every incidental relation and function of earth will be included: but that being shall be seen unfolded in his unearthly greatness, and travelling on in the way everlasting!

The anomalous character of popular education may not infrequently surprise us. We might suppose that its first business would be to teach the child to understand the mother-tongue. As this must be the inlet of all knowledge, it might be expected that it would be the first and main instruction. No one loves to read a language, classic or modern, who is stumbled by one or more words in every sentence. To guess the meaning, is to become the author ourself. And can we doubt, that the manner of learning to read is often mechanical and unreasoning? Comparatively speaking, how few of a class or of a school can read, if this be understood to imply an intelligent act! Every

kind of knowledge is often imparted, rather than that of the vernacular. The English Language is very composite. All terms of art, and nearly all of theology, are grafted on our Saxon stock. These, however, are in constant use. A man must be accounted wholly ignorant who does not understand them. In very infancy they may be explained. Grammar, and even etymology, may be simplified. Words may be classed, and particles defined. As the knowledge of other languages is not attempted in most of the schools where our poor receive instruction, our language must be taught from itself. The child cannot be made to take any interest in what he does not understand. He will no longer delight to read than as he catches the meaning. Leave difficulties at his every step, and his course will soon be stayed. Show him the import of what he even spells, the connection of syllables, and the family of similar words,—make this *matriculation* your grand means, if not your chief end,—and you prepare him for all disclosures. The inverted rule has been to instil other knowledge, and to leave him as he can to gather this: the more proper rule assuredly is, to instil this knowledge, if even the necessity follow that he be left to gather other knowledge as he can. This is the instrument and capacity for every acquisition.

The art of *Writing* is not to be valued only for its convenience. It puts him who employs it, in any way beyond that of a copyist, into the capacity of a

thinker. The reader is not compelled to think: the writer of the simplest epistle must. The bonds of an intellectual and holy fellowship thus unite the ends of the earth. Distance is annihilated, separation obviated, by this invention. No one can employ it but to be raised in the scale of social and reflective being. Education of the lowest sense is belied when this is neglected.

Arithmetic is not only of the greatest advantage as a technical calculation,—a check on fraud, a guide to providence, an exercise of mind,—it is the science of number. While it is probable that the larger class of these humble pupils will advance no further than the simpler elements of what is denominated ciphering,—the mathematical mind of the amplest powers must begin here, and may find in the easiest figures of the slate or sand, the rough draught and rude germ of its future severest analyses and noblest diagrams.

But we fear that the spirit of the age tends almost wholly to a sordid, utilitarian, usufruct, discipline of the youthful mind. *Our* ambition is to base all upon Grammar learning. It is easy to raise the laugh against the shepherd-boy and the plough-boy versed in classical studies. Yet such are found on Scotia's plains and hills, sometimes reading their former lessons still. In many of the Foreign Schools those noble languages are taught. The design of our Native Foundations,—shamelessly perverted by a grasping aristocracy! was

obviously to train the poor in such literature. It is impossible to extol its advantages in too earnest terms. No education so opens the mind. None so quickens the understanding. None so prepares for every other species of knowledge. None so refines the taste. None so creates the inner world of lofty images and variegated thoughts. Such a seasoning of the people's mind would be of incomparable value. The whole social edifice would be raised. Its universality would prevent any of those ill consequences which are often feared. Those who towered into superior stations would require just as much preeminence and originality to claim them, as they do now. There would be an equal level for them to spurn. There would be as large a crowd for them to surpass.

There is one Means which possesses vast capabilities, and which might be tried with great power on our population. Hitherto it has been considered the pastime, an infant holiday. Yet the school which receives all but the babe, is a mighty power. It draws out the full mimetic tendency of infancy, fills not only the memory with results, but with the rules of working them; gives to the earliest childhood the handle of the profoundest calculations and reasonings; crowns the little elfin with the honours which many a brow, time-worn and pensive, lacks. It has been truly said, nothing is so beautiful as the mind of a child. It is contrary to all evidence, that this indoctrination is superficial, or its impression fugitive.

There is nothing which so abides as the memory of this period. And could the whole infant race of our country be thus initiated, we cannot doubt to what a climax education might be conducted. We should lay up for our country the treasures of a well-trained youth. And when it is remembered that the children of the poor must be very soon required to earn their bread, how inestimable is this prime! How much useful information may be secured! What a formative influence may be exercised! "Even a child is known by his doings, whether his work be pure, and whether it be right."* This season lost, there is none other which may be substituted for it. Every following one must be interrupted, broken, mixed with uncongenial instructions and pursuits. To accomplish any general, wholesome, availing, education of the people, this is a most essential instrument. It is the gentle turning of the nascent spring into its proper river-course. It is the first shoot of the fibre which grows up into the massive trunk. It is the rich vermilion of the orient blushing into the golden light of day.

In contrast to the Infant school, and as embracing the period when attendance at every school has ceased, the Mechanics' Institute cannot be too greatly praised, nor too strongly recommended. The objections raised to it are those of fear and not of fact. The libraries of these establishments are not intended to be religious; but are they open to infidelity? You

* Prov. xx. 11.

will find in them Ray, Derham, Paley; perhaps Whewell, Pritchard, Abercrombie; much that bears on the evidences of Christianity as well as on the laws of nature. The system of lectures is only one of its methods, but even this is very stirring to attention, inquisitiveness, and emulation.* In the department of the classes there is real labour, and only diligence can keep its place. An intercommunity of mind is constituted by association and occasional debate. Some external supervision and support are proper, but two things can alone give these institutions an extended vitality and efficiency,—the enforcement of contribution from all their attendants, and the surrender to their members of the chief administration. The habit of enquiry and research, the taste for literature and science, which the young man forms under this direction and example, in their utility to society and benefit to himself, are beyond the reach of calculation. Four hundred of these societies exist in Great Britain. It is calculated that they contain 80,000 members, possess 400,000 volumes, raise £30,000. a-year, and in the same time originate 400 lectures.

We scruple not to say, that the more assured the people are in physical truth, the more happy and the

* "It is a solemn custom there, to have lectures daily, whereto they be constrained to be present that be chosen and appointed to learning. Howbeit, a great multitude of every sort of people, both men and women, go to hear lectures, some one, some another, as every one's nature is inclined."—More's Utopia.

more moral they are likely to become. If this be not the proper tendency, the converse must be allowed. Then, in proportion as things are misapprehended, will human happiness and morality advance! Error will be the parent of virtue! A peasantry shall be orderly, industrious, content, religious, just as they are found to conceive of every fact of nature in a false light! It requires, indeed, no ordinary acuteness to determine how this incessant misapprehension can operate to these favourable results. So long as it shall be believed that this earth is one extended plane, that the sun courses around it, that it is larger than all the constellations, it is hoped that the million will be peaceable and obedient! Should they ever suspect that they were in the wrong, should they ever make an approach to the true laws and motions of the universe, the ploughman, it is feared, will desert his furrow, and the shepherd his flock! The connection of these causes and effects, we have not divined. Could every man read the works of nature as Newton, and analyse the human mind as Locke, we should only be confident of the increase of so much good, because this would be only the proper understanding of so much truth. He who is most enlightened will be the better able to exclaim, "Thou, Lord, hast made me glad through thy work: I will triumph in the works of thy hands."* If these be "works sought out of all them who have pleasure therein," this taste and

* Psa. xcii. 4.

contemplation cannot be dishonouring to the Creator nor unworthy of us. Vacant apathy and dull conceit are sufficiently evinced towards the tokens of the Deity around us: "a brutish man knoweth not, neither doth a fool understand this:" but we cannot perceive how there is in this state of mind and form of character, any security for social well being.

Mechanical knowledge would be an appropriate addition to this training in physics; for it is melancholy when the machine which man attends for some minor office, seems more intelligent than himself. Powers are employed in wondrous forms and combinations, but those powers are very simple. It is in this simplicity that they are great. Let them be scanned, explored. No rude curiosity, no superstitious dread, will then be left to prey upon the mind. Even the overweening pride of human achievement will be humbled. It will be seen that, in the most complicated engine, there is no power created, that the power had always existed, that its more laborious operation is only redeemed or its collision prevented, that there have been but discovery and adaptation of it, that it has no inbeing in the human mind, that it subsisted in the works which were from the foundation of the world. The ingenuity of man in the invention is not denied, but "his God doth teach him to discretion;" and it is only ingenuity in collecting gifts, and following laws, which He has bountifully and wisely provided.

Refinement of taste may be fostered among the classes addicted to the extremest labour. Wherever the arts abound, this refinement descends to the humblest ranks of life. In Athens the common people acquired such an accurate ear from the models of eloquence among them, that the slightest offence of tone and pronunciation was immediately detected. The love of music, painting, sculpture, grows upon the most unsusceptible minds when the noblest specimens are familiarised to them.—and would not this elegance be a happy exchange for coarse sentiment and manner? Would it be in any danger of sinking into effeminacy? We should like to see our people in the Botanical Garden, in the Picture Gallery, in the Musical Academy, in the Philosophical Museum. We should rejoice if such were their recreations and amusements. We would that they were embued with the true sense of beauty. The poor on the Continent mingle with the rich in public places, and there is no rudeness: they walk in the same arcades and parterres, and there is no spoliation. Our countrymen have been distrusted, and, therefore, have been debarred from these higher advantages. Surely it is time that a new trial should be given them. They have already proved themselves worthy of the privilege. Let them have access to the trophies of nature and the wonders of composition, and there will be witnessed a taste,—a most worthless substitute for a deeper education as many a country shows, but which

will crown the deeper education of this country with a most appropriate grace and a most softening influence. The exhibition of the fine and mechanical arts, to which the Sabbath school child is admitted during some holyday, not only gratifies the curiosity of all, but there may be an eye which receives the first impression of lovely forms and ingenious contrivances, a mind which carries away its first idea of proportion and design, a hidden zest and genius which emits its earliest spark,—the young observer may be the future painter, sculptor, and machinist!

It is not expected that all will concur with our next recommendation. But we are deeply convinced that the industrious classes should receive a political instruction. If government be in any sense an arrangement for their benefit and a trustee for their security, it ought to be shown in what manner it acts on their behalf. A foundation should be laid for their confidence. If apparent wrong be done them in any legislative measures, they have a right to be satisfied that it is not real, or that, if real, it is indispensable. Prove to them that the reclamation of the common, where their poultry strayed, was demanded by the general consumption of the country. Convince them that it is only just that they, in the excise on the necessaries of life, should pay the largest share of the national burdens. Make it plain to them that their own interests are chiefly consulted in the withholding from them of all part in the direction of

national affairs. If you can bring proof, they will be readily satisfied, or at least will submissively yield: if you cannot, it is at your peril that you proceed. A government has no proper arcana; it is a great social regulation, a strict convention. It is the executive for the greatest possible happiness of the greatest possible number of its supporters. It is only a relative thing. Not a thought can it legitimately bestow upon itself. Its strength, firmness, revenue, are of the people, and for the people. It is no truce of party, it is no game of faction. Its force is in the sound, thinking, influential, preponderant, ascertained, majority of its subjects in favour of its measures, —and in the unanimity of its subjects in favour of its institutions. Throw all light over its frame and working; make the people parties to it; let them appreciate the use of every principle and adjunct; invest them with a beneficial interest in all; while they "sit by the fire," let them know "what 's done in the Capitol;"* and your commonwealth is imperishable. The advantage of this kind of education is twofold,—you bind the people to the State, but in their improvement, if the State be wrongous and defective, you must raise the State to the people. Such a populace might be trusted in the most critical times. It would bow to the severities of what it saw was inevitable scarcity. It would acquiesce in the lowness of the price of labour, when it perceived the slackness of

* Shakspeare. Coriolanus.

demand. It would hold no quarrel with the seasons. It would not suicidally destroy property. It would not listen to the nostrum of the political empiric. It would not sway to and fro under every noisy leader. Among its ranks might be seen an enlightened patriotism to encourage the public spirit of other orders,—at least to expose the timid and to shame the venal.

One feature of popular education ought never to be overlooked. It cannot be denied that the mental circumstances of the labouring poor form a sort of proscription. In vain we say, that every man in our country can rise into a better lot. It is theory. It is possibility. How may it be? It is the duty of those who can impart education so to fashion and direct it as to lift the people universally to this starting point. Give them the capacity thus to rise. When elevated to a few degrees, it is their fault alone if they do not advance. The progress, henceforth, must be their own. But until then, they hardly can emerge from a deep debasement. The hope of extrication has not whispered to their ear. The instruments of melioration are not furnished for their use. Waken the soul from its sleep. Stir up its powers of life. Give it its place in the competition. Let it have room for the race. And then will it be no idle mockery, nor ribald insult, to the meanest, when we assert that he may improve his social condition if he will: the chances remain not so much to be drawn as that a prize is actually won. It is a goal already gained,

but it points to others more distant and more glorious still.

The education which is denounced, because wholly secular, requires some little notice. Does such exist in our country? Does that deserve this description, which is found associated with the most anti-evangelical communities? Is there the school in which is found no inspired verse? Is not morality infused into the reading-lesson and copy-book? If the infidel has his educational institution, it is, we know, for irreligion: we include it not in the defence: though, even in it, the probability is, that truth, sobriety, and kindness, will be inculcated.

The question has been violently agitated, Whether education can be properly scriptural, which only recognises selections from Scripture. We think it may be right to teach a part of Divine Revelation, when we are not suffered to teach the whole. We practically, where the entire volume is the reading book of the school, do very mainly use it in sections. None would wish it to be read indiscriminately and consecutively by children of all the classes and forms. Happy, at least, are they who are free to act in these choices for themselves! Nor are we disposed to offer one excuse for those who, in order to promote the most flattering schemes of universal education, enter into a compromise, the conditions of which shall be the employment of Scripture with a corrupt text and fraudulent translation!

The necessity of Female education is unjustly overlooked in most of these general enquiries. But it is not, in any view, of inferior importance. The future mothers of a people are the best protectresses of a State from moral deterioration. Let them be trained as thinking beings. The female intellect only wants culture to establish its strict equality. But there are domestic virtues which specially adorn the sex. The house-wife is woman's proudest name. The home is her peculiar sphere. Honourable is her distaff: as honourable her careful management and thrift. It is plain for what sphere she should be instructed. Deeply is it to be deplored when the blooming girl is, by the calls of want, diverted from these duties. They should be early commenced, and as often as possible resumed. Then the regulations and arts of other employment may not be useless. They will supply the means of independence, if woman's common lot be not fulfilled. They will impress habits of self-denial and industry. They will afford an experience, whose fruits may be most wholesome, and which shall set homestead joys in the most enviable view. But they have too frequently a contrary influence. They bring many snares. Their principal evil, if it can be shown to be true, is a tendency to disqualify for the obligations of wedded life. To this we know there is ready answer: we doubt whether it be quite satisfactory. We cannot be forced from this conclusion, that there is no subject of education, so fitting, so deserving, so influential,

as the female: that there is no instrument of raising man to contentment, peacefulness, sobriety, and all human responsibilities, as the educated female: and that there is no such created source of holy power in this world as may be found in the example of the educated female, bearing on her the noble distinctions of wife, mother, and Christian! When the cottages of our land shall thus be blest, we may hope that the sullen tyrant of the family will be softened by love, and the vilest wanderer be reclaimed to the sweet bonds of household allegiance!

The Science of popular education has made great advances within a few short years. We are not sanguine that the classics and mathematics could be taught in any other way than they were acquired of old. But more intelligence might accompany and direct the lessons. The pupil might be more drawn out and be treated as a more reasoning learner. And this is done with the peasant child. His attention is awakened and his mind is interested. He is almost betrayed into knowledge. The truly illustrious discoverers, Bell and Lancaster, introduced the reciprocal and monitorial system, which is one process of intellectual elimination. He who sees in it a mechanical and automatic exhibition, has yet to understand human nature. It is mind exciting mind, and evolving mind. It is mind informing itself. Like some natural agent, it contains a twofold power,—as the expansion of heat or the electricity of light.

It cannot be denied, that the character of the schoolmaster is very low and unworthy in this country. We refuse not many high exceptions. From the respective normal establishments, men of qualified tastes and habits are beginning to diffuse themselves through society. But until of late, Who were the teachers of our youth? The learned, who had been trained to this duty? The devoted, who felt their delight in this task? The ranks were filled with the bankrupt, not only of fortune but as often of principle. The office was considered the last anchor-hold of every wreck. Schools must necessarily degenerate beneath such care. Learning could not be contemplated. Morality was scarcely breathed. A whining pity was heard to plead for the misfortunes of these instructors. Censure was deprecated. Enquiry was debarred. Neighbourhoods were canvassed to help them. Certificates were good-naturedly subscribed. And thus, race of pupils after race was surrendered to a wretched imbecility and drivelling. Such persons were a disgrace to their calling and a pest to their land. They corrupted and wasted youth. Often might it have been wished that the scholars had received the power which Camillus gave to the boys of the Falisci, when he commanded them to scourge the traitor-pædagogue, who would have betrayed them, back to his home.*

And in stating the kind of information required by the working classes, the most sacred regard must

* Livius, lib. v. cap. 27.

be manifested toward conscience. It must be allowed that men have spoken of the poor as materials to be worked up into any religious profession. And education has been made to act this tyrannic part. It has been refused to all who would not subscribe to particular formulary, or bow in particular rite. It has been bribe to the timid, it has been penalty upon the firm. Often it has been put beyond the attainment of many, if they would not forswear the faith of their fathers and renounce their own. Is there not danger of demanding this compromise in the very extension of education? Distinct denominations of religionists are beginning to devise methods of meeting the wants of the people. The probability is, that numerous schools will shortly arise among us, more sectarian—the epithet is not employed invidiously—than have hitherto existed. Every place of worship may set up one as its proper appendage. These will be indebted to their own communities. A corresponding impress will be stamped upon each. This is natural and unavoidable. The place of worship and the school will have one doctrine. But general education is a good. Should you fetter its possession by any pledge of religious conformity? Many may need that education, who are not of that religious enrolment: it may be that they cannot elsewhere obtain it. Will you deny it them? Teach them, over whom you have just control or admitted influence, all you believe, even to its particle: but refuse not to teach them, whom you cannot thus sway

rightfully, as far as they will be taught, only because conscience declines the ulterior instruction.

Any education is nearly worthless that is not intelligent. The mind must be aroused to think for itself. Mental digestion alone produces mental life and health. Violent efforts of the memory often discourage even that lower faculty, without strengthening the judgment. Let children be taught the reasons of facts; and when this cannot be done, let them be shown how reasonable is the ground of conviction in their approved truth. Why is it? how can it be? wherefore do you believe it? are questions which will draw up the soul from its depths and liberate it from its fetters. This is the true praxis of education. Self-knowledge, self-control, self-examination, self-culture, will follow as effects. You have caused him who was created, a thinking being, to think. You have done reverence to the Father of spirits in the evocation of that spirit.

We feel that something is wanted to raise the national mind. It is oppressed by hebetude and phlegm. We desire to bring it to a greater force and quickness. It stands in need of activity, perception, vigour. It has been long overborne by tyranny and besotted by ignorance. It has been bought by gifts and suborned by bribes. There is a natural love of justice and tone of generosity in it. It strongly inclines to independence. But it has been worn down by neediness and beaten down by rigour. It comprehends all the elements of greatness. It resembles some noble falchion,

capable of keenest edge and brightest polish, uninjured in its temperament even now, but blunted, soiled, threatened to be corroded by its rust. It must be awakened to exertion and to greater confidence in itself. It must be drawn from the low amusements which have hitherto been its only recreation. It is ready for growth in knowledge. It invites, it even thirsts for, education. Stimulated by that discipline which we inculcate, it will rouse from sloth: possessing the motives for improvement, its inborn energy will vindicate itself. It will stand forth in its vivacity without lightness, in its strength without violence, in its stability without grossness, in its activity without lubricity, in its ascendancy without disdain.

It is almost unnecessary to say, that the instruction of the child is as nothing, save as you imbue him with the taste, and furnish him with the means, of self-education. "Every man," says Gibbon, "who rises above the common level, has received two educations: the first from his teachers,—the second, more personal and important, from himself." Once inspired to think, wisely and religiously, it is not very probable that he will relapse. Study will be his habit, and piety his inner life. Should he never rise in society, he has already gained an honoured and a holy position. He carries with him a blessed charm to lighten toil, to assuage affliction, to purify attachment, to conquer death. He has been trained in the way in which he should go, and when he is old he will not depart from it.

We would, therefore, when certain writers urge moral training, admit the idea, but at the same time greatly expand it beyond their ambition. We see clearly that education has hitherto scarcely touched the spiritual good of man. The higher principles of Christianity have found little access to the people's heart. In them is the power which is now wanted to regenerate society. General discipline may do much for the public mind, and even for the public morality, but there it stops. It leaves the real nature of man the same. Something more is required to stem the eager passions of its selfishness. Are the masters of intellect always the true reformers of the soul? Do not the Titans assail heaven? Is mental process the invariable guide to virtue and piety? Is infidelity the mistake only of the ignorant? Is war the exclusive delight of the rude? Is there not now an intense activity of mind labouring with all the prodigies of evil? But in the gospel we possess the instrument which called into existence the first Christians. It is eternally the same. Yet with an ever-adapting faculty it anticipates the wants of each social condition. It belongs to all truth and to all goodness. It is the inheritance of every age. It is the friend of man in his every estate. It works by an assimilating action. It turns all into itself. What would a nation of Christians be? What would be a world? That is the ultimate design,—that the blessed reward,—that the glorious victory,—of true Education!

However we be disposed, whatever may be our prejudice, the cause of knowledge must proceed in our country. Mechanical invention secures a thousand facilities. Where is now the buried village? Where now the unvisited dale? Where now the unexplored neck of land? Where now the inaccessible islet? By the powers of the Steam Locomotive we thread the most difficult track, and by our Steam Marine reach the most perilous coast: peculiarities of dialect and diversities of custom yield to a common standard: we live in one vicinity, and shall soon be a people undistinguished among ourselves. Privileges which were territorial are rapidly becoming independent of space. The element of metropolitan life diffuses itself through each province and assimilates it. There is scarcely favoured haunt. Light breaks forth with its proper universality. We are henceforth an intermixed race. Wings could hardly have given us greater power of speed: certainly not such sustained power of progress. And a beneficent State, in happy concert with all this apparatus of movement, has bestowed the means of a most perfect interchange of thought. At the cheapest cost the poor may all but live with their most distant relatives and friends: city talks to city: man spiritual, yet identical, is every where. What can restrain the tide of intelligence in such a country?

CHAPTER V.

ON THE ADVANTAGES ARISING FROM THE EDUCATION OF THE PEOPLE.

However we may congratulate ourselves that the desirableness of Education is universally allowed, because it is not openly impugned, there are many symptoms of dissent. It is held by not a few, if held at all, with many qualifications. They yield, but with no small doubt and reluctance. They know that they are left behind in the progress of opinion, and shame seals their lips. They would, at heart, that the days of ignorance had not passed away. The hope has not quite died in them that those days shall yet return. They think, though the thought must not be revealed, that the evil will retrieve itself. The overflowing tide has struck the pole and may recoil. They hear of the benefits of knowledge, they even load themselves with certain epithets of reproach for their want of appreciating powers, and, having soothed themselves with their irony, whisper oracles which predict consequences of mischief and ruin.

Contemptuous language comes with an ill grace from many of these declaimers. Horace might speak

of the "profanum vulgus,"* and Cicero of the "turba et colluvione;"† we should remember, however, that in the one instance it is as "Musarum sacerdos,"‡ and that in the other it is with high aspirations "ad illud divinum animorum concilium cœtumque."§ But when they, who themselves were but recently raised in property above the industrious classes, speak disdainfully of them, who wear the marks of their origin in their ignorance, derision and disgust may well contend together in our breast. They, in troth, must gravely declare their fears for the safety of society, should education spread! They confidently foresee that soon the poor will be "above working," and "get the upper hand!" Why *ought* any man to work, in their sense of the term, who does not please? Why do they not work? The sauciness of bloated wealth, the giddiness of sudden elevation, are, of all impertinences, the most difficult to bear. "There is a generation, O how lofty are their eyes, and their eyelids are lifted up." They may lull their fears about "the upper hand." In their sense of the word, that ascendancy is safe. Knowledge has no tendency, no power, to usurp it. But by the combination of other elements around that ascendancy, it may become less and less dignified and enviable. It may, and the time cannot

* "The profane crowd."—Carm: lib. iii. 1.

† "The rabble and offscouring."—De Senectute.

‡ "Priest of the Muses."

§ "The godlike concert and assemblage of minds."

be distant, cease to draw forth the idol-honour which now is paid to it. It will in vain look around for that influence which it now commands. Mammon will be left alone in its temple: the image may be unspoiled, but only a scornful silence and solitude shall surround it,—its priests will have refused to offer and its votaries to adore. Nor can we doubt that there are other kinds of worship which are fated to be much reduced. Even now we feel that the true imperial names, the names which rule the world, are not those of sceptred monarchs or laureled heroes. These will, it may be for long time, command for themselves monuments and statues. But the men of intellectual originality and power, are the real potentates and conquerors. Theirs is no vulgar, fleeting, sway. They need not the honours of shrine and sculpture. Or, if these be awarded them,—if they lie inurned among the cloistered dust of kings and warriors, how does the mind feel at once the proper distinctions between the spoilers and instructors, the scourgers and benefactors, of our race!

That the tuition of the labouring orders must produce its effect upon the whole structure of society, is not denied. That inconveniences may arise from it, cannot be fairly contested. Any suddenness of movement, however, need not be feared; it is impossible. But the question occurs, Is society rightly based, and would not this pressure upon it, which can be only intellectual and moral, be advantageous?

Society, it must be remembered, is not in reality what it is metaphorically described. It is a collection of human minds. These act upon each other. The depression of any is to the benefit of none. All is mutual in elevation or in advance. Select the metaphors themselves. Is it a family? Does hopeless ignorance in some of its members, in contrast with the privileged information of others, make it more happy? Is it a pyramid? Ought not the strongest materials to sustain its square, whatever be the substance of its point?

It is supposed, that the subordinations and relative distinctions of the community must be confounded if the knowledge of the poor should be increased. But this statement implies many gross mistakes. For, in the first instance, is it not of the nature of knowledge in general, and of the particular knowledge which is now instilled, to make men peaceable, inoffensive, and obedient? "That it is the policy of governments to keep the people in ignorance is a maxim sounding like the subtlety that is in a statesman only by birth or beard, and merits not his place by much thinking. For ignorance is rude, censorious, jealous, obstinate, and proud, these being exactly the ingredients of which disobedience is made."* Then, secondly, there is implied the charge, that the higher gradations of society are stationary in their knowledge, and are thus easily overtaken. Is it not notorious, that these have been

* Davenant.

most active in all mental improvement? And, once more, ought any rank of thinking beings to be straitened and repressed, until those who possess the accidents of wealth and dignity, who have the favoured start, feel disposed to quicken their own progress? Is it not, too, a happy circumstance, that an impulse is given to society, from whatever quarter it may proceed? May it not be supposed that the richer portions of the people have excited the poorer, as well as that the poorer have stimulated the richer? "The age is grown so picked, that the toe of the peasant comes so near the heel of the courtier, he galls his kibe."* This is the fear, but it is a wholesome and practical fear. Why should not the peasant stride in the ways of knowledge? Why does not the courtier preserve his place in the competition? It is far more difficult for the one to gain, than for the other to keep, his ground. The equi-distances might be easily maintained. We feel a strong persuasion that they generally are. But were it otherwise, Is the right of the poor to be sacrificed to the caprice of the affluent? It is a pledge of good and glory to the empire, that knowledge diffuses itself from so many points; but, chief of all, that the heart of those, to whom its access is most difficult, is bent upon it. The producing classes show their resolve: the sense of shame and the desire of safety may be left to stir the rest. Let the ignorant master feel his inferiority to

* Shakspeare. Hamlet.

the educated servant. It is the feeling which such an accidental transposition of the parties ought to produce. It is not only inevitable: it is that which we should desire, for its own sake, to exist. It is difficult to draw an indictment against a whole nation: the mind of a mighty people will little heed what creeping things are outsped in its march, and thrown behind it.

Graver judgments are pronounced. It is foreseen that the growing intelligence of the workers will constrain organic changes in the polity of the empire. The word ought to be defined. New distributions of the same power cannot constitute organic change. Popular suffrage is an element in our constitution. It may be enlarged, just as the peerage has been increased, without any vital revolution. With the effect, in its precise amount of quantity, we have not in this argument the smallest concern. Only let us not be frightened at undefined terms. It is not, then, denied that with the advancement of knowledge there will be an advancement of society. A free government will reflect, of necessity, the opinions and refinements of its people. It is not an unnatural inference, that those classes which are not now deemed sufficiently enlightened to bear a part, and exercise a responsibility, in the management of the state, will, when thus prepared, find their way, and, it is hoped, their welcome, to political immunities. This surely would be not only their proper right, but for the security of the

commonwealth. It would be the multiplication of its sound, intelligent, and heartsworn, members. But there would be no organic or vital revolution. The strict principle of our Constitution would only be more emphatically declared. It is true, that pecuniary qualification now exists for the enjoyment of certain rights. But it is simply thus assigned, because property is supposed to be a pledge of information. There is no partial right given to any class of society which is not a trust intended to be executed for the whole.

Property was thus, again, considered the index of a moral ability to undertake such trust. We need not blame our ancestors for this appointment: it was not only the best, but *we* have not found out a better. A poor man may be erudite, but we do not expect it: a rich man may be untaught, but it is to our surprise. Money must always have its influence in securing instruction, and penury in debarring it. But if knowledge and virtue, which humbler circumstances have been thought to discourage and almost to preclude, can establish their existence in those circumstances, or in spite of them,—then, surely, they may claim equal respect, though unclothed with their ordinary ensigns. It is then, also, that the question may arise, which we are not called to settle, whether these attributes, apart from other secular investitures, should, or should not, give a potential voice in the direction of public affairs. It may be fitting, or it may not. How-

ever it may be determined, the poor are in a better frame of mind to receive the decision. The alternative must rest upon the unreasonableness of any political change as deducible from their intellectual and moral change. Then, if unreasonable, the more reasonable the parties contemplated in it, the more readily will they see that unreasonableness. But if contrariwise, then the reasonable change must be yielded. Can it be safely or honestly refused, an instant beyond the evidence that it has become desirable and just?

In the North American Republic, it is well known that a universal suffrage obtains. There are patriots, statesmanly and philosophic, who would not for a moment touch that right. They see its justice, as well as necessity, in their Federal Constitution. But still is it the constant subject of their distrust. They are filled with alarm at its exercise. The ballot-box, the symbol of a mighty liberty, is watched by them with a gnawing suspense. It is not for party that they tremble. Hearts never glowed than theirs with a stronger enthusiasm of love for their land and its franchises. But they know the character of myriads of the voters. They are aware of the brutal ignorance and moral vileness which characterise the crowds which hasten to the poll. The number of voters for General Harrison to the Presidential Chair, was nearly unprecedented, and yet it was thirty thousand less than the ascertained number of freemen who could neither read nor write. Such a description do

these virtuous remonstrants furnish, that our blood runs cold, or mounts indignant, as we read. We employ not any argument, which might be thus suggested, against the widest extension of popular claims; but we do seize the principle, that knowledge and virtue are the only guides of liberty, and the only guarantees of right. This we surely learn, and this we most confidently proclaim, that an enlightened and religious people cannot be too free!

It is little else than a degradation to reply to those objections which speak of man as happier in ignorance than as taught. We are reminded of past times. There was then no enquiry, no complaint. Contented ignorance was the excellent quality which ruled the mass. The eulogium, such as it is, may not be strictly deserved. We have received sufficient inheritance of proof, that this period of contented ignorance was invariably backward of the times in which it was extolled. It was never the theme of present honour. It was a golden age, but always past. If such opinions be worthy of momentary attention, we demand, What must be their estimate of man who entertain them? His happiness is placed in the quietude of sensual existence. He is forbidden to do more than obey the grosser appetites of his nature. He is walled up in his lot. Were he prone and not erect, save as to the profit of his toil, it would not be deplored. Is he happy as *man*? Is it not, in the forgetfulness and abandonment of manhood, that he

is happy? Such animal happiness has always one alloy, man wants some other: and it is exposed to interruptions and chances, from which the happiness of mere animals, when creatures of value and domestication, is jealously preserved. Of men so imbruted, we might speak as Tacitus did of the ancient Germans, and not without his biting sarcasm: "Securi adversus homines, securi adversus deos, rem difficilimam assecuti sunt, ut *illis ne voto quidem opus sit.*" *

Until man is educated, he is not perfect man: and there can be no doubt that many feel a dread of his proper development. They consider that he is armed with new powers, when only his proper powers are elicited. The reasoning is as false as if you so argued of the organ preserved, or the limb saved, in bodily cure. Should they object, that the proper powers of man would be better restrained, because so capable of mischief,—the analogous objection cannot be resisted, that the organ and the limb were injudiciously restored, because they may be spared for some evil work. The mind of man, undisciplined, is no more capable of its fitting use, than is the dismembered trunk to perform the operations of the body. Yet is the comparison imperfect. For the truncated frame of man is without power of locomotion or external action. But the uninformed mind retains its

* "Fearless of men, and not foreboding the anger of the gods, they have reached this most difficult point, that they know not a remaining wish."—De Moribus Germaniæ.

power for evil. Ignorance is the ever-ready subject of perversion and turbulence.

The well-known case of proceedings among workmen, respecting the rise of wages or the abridgment of hours, has been often quoted against the extension of knowledge to them. It is said that these, and other interruptions, of the commercial system, are attributable to some one or two superior minds. These utter the inflammatory harangue. These diffuse the wide discontent. Such a leader is dreaded by the employer, and is the instigator of inconceivable confusion and misery. Now no statement can more perfectly carry its own antidote. That brawler, assuming that the quarrel is unjust, hides his own better knowledge, and practises upon the ignorance of others. He knows well, that masters have almost as little command over wages as their servants. He knows well, that wages have but small connection with the prices of food, and that often the one may stand just as high as the other shall sink low. He knows well, that the abundance of labour must deteriorate its market worth, as well as the excess of all supply. If he be thus enlightened, he must conceal his knowledge. His listeners must be led into other notions, or he is at once gainsaid. Here, then, is the most unaccountable distortion of all truth and intelligence hastily admitted, credulously cheered, by the crowd. What gives him his influence? Not so much his own mental capacity, as the ignorance of those whom he deceives. By

that he works and seduces. The proof is furnished, in such a man, of what even a little mental power can accomplish, and how it can only be counteracted. Let the crowd be taught. When the eyes of the many open, their Polyphemus will cease to be famous for his cyclopean vision. Let the labourer be shown his true interests, let him see what necessary and contingent causes affect them, and the demagogue will find his arts ineffectual, and the alarmist may convince himself that his forebodings were vain.

The plainest evidence is on record, that crime proceeds in even step with the mental rudeness of a people. That they are harmless in proportion to their ignorance, is an opinion well-nigh abandoned of all. A few of that antiquated prejudice may occasionally creep out among us, and when the sun least shines or sinks beneath a passing cloud, they may unhood their pale visages and mutter their dismal vaticinations. They look their dark farewell, upon a world now rolling in too direct a light. They hate its beams. They predict that the relations of masters and servants cannot survive this flood of knowledge. The only treatises they can endure, are those which teach every man to be "his own,"—for the subordinate will soon no more be found. We appeal, then, to the ignorance which they regard as the only salvation of States. They would retain and invigorate it. They would safely keep these treasures of darkness. And they can point to its strong-holds. Prisons are the monuments

as well as the fortifications. These shelter the virtues which once it was vogue to praise. These garner the most ample fruits of that abject and unreasoning contentment which even bards have been inspired to sing. There is a criterion, however, before which pleasant illusions and brilliant enchantments are compelled to flee. It is more sudden in its potency than Ithuriel's spear. A table of facts and numbers breaks the spell. In that which was prepared by the eminent Dr. Cooke Taylor concerning the state of Crime in Manchester, guided, in part, by the Pamphlet of Mr. Neale on Juvenile Delinquency in that town, and based upon details furnished by Sir Charles Shaw, we find the ratios between offences and ignorance set forth in a most convincing manner. What is the result? Eleven-twelfths of Crime in that dense population are committed by the uneducated, and principally by those who are utterly so, not knowing how to read. One-twelfth is left, and includes all those offenders who have been educated, whether more liberally or only just at all. In a southern county, Sussex, forty-nine prisoners were arraigned for incendiarism, principally of stacked corn. The crime itself seems only capable of being committed by the most deplorable fatuity. It would forewarn us how sottish must be the ignorance of those who could perpetrate it. More than forty could neither read nor write. Only two could both read and write. The gaol of Taunton, according to the account of its Chaplain, and according

to the announcement of a candidate for the senate on the hustings of the adjoining county, received during two years alone three hundred prisoners, and these chiefly youths, who knew not any meaning connected with the names of Jesus, save for profane execrations. Of course, these could not read a word.

In the Tables which have been furnished from the Prisons of the Country, we may see the degrees of instruction received by those who have been committed to them. The three last years may be selected. The per cent. of these respective differences is as follows:

	1840.	1841.	1842.
Unable to read and write	33·32 ...	33·21 ...	32·35
Able to read and write imperfectly .	55·57 ...	56·67 ...	58·32
Able to read and write well	8·29 ...	7·40 ...	6·77
Instruction superior to reading and writing well	·37 ...	·45 ...	·22
Instruction could not be ascertained	2·45 ...	2·27 ...	2·34

The man, whose mind is stored with knowledge, is acquainted with a source of peculiar pleasures. They lie within himself. They are independent of common accidents. They are indulged without reproach. They invigorate and cheer the spirit. They bring no satiety with them. They raise above the low pursuit and sordid taste. They tend to polish the manners, and refine the habits, of life. We are anxious not to be misunderstood. We do not say that they must be associated with virtue, that they may not be degraded

to vice. But we do affirm, that *then* their true character is changed. We do not say that they tend to the quest of true religion. We do not confound the Tree of knowledge and the Tree of life. But we do affirm that, things being equal, knowledge will always be more favourable to that end than ignorance. The eccentric genius may lower himself: the man, flattered or excited into a self-esteem of mental power, may never have cast off his base and ruinous propensions. Who can, however, doubt, that the enquiring and instructed peasant is happier in his little cupboard library, than he would be at the vulgar resort of dispute and drunkenness? It is now that he feels the true self-respect. He is not likely to divide himself between purer joys and grosser indulgences. He is not the probable subject of those alternations which have confessedly been witnessed in some of the ranks of science and literature. He feels himself a captive disenthralled. He sees an onward path before him, with ever-enlarging and brightening prospects. His is the gladness, his the sweetest triumph the mind can know, of newly-awakened powers. His is the elevation of a higher mental taste. He discriminates, compares, reasons, reflects. "Wisdom is better than strength," and "weapons of war." Moral habits are almost necessary to it. With "the lowly," and "the well-advised," is "wisdom." It "dwells with prudence." By it "a house is built." "He who hath it understandeth his way." He, indeed, is rich and

puissant who finds, in knowledge the most simple, those achievements over space and time and death which Euripides describes: "I have determined the proper antidote to forgetfulness, defying Lethe itself, in the humble art of conjoining what may be, and what may not be, pronounced, vowels and consonants, into words, so that my most distant friends, far off beyond the seas, may have accurate knowledge of every thing which happens here at home; and the dying may unbosom themselves in a few sentences to their children, by bearers unconscious of the message: even the calamities which arise from contention may be thus retrieved, and a scrap of writing prevent the triumph of fraud."*

The mere justice of educating the poor,—it being supposed that the education of the other classes may confidently be relied on,—is apparent from that equal obedience which is required from all by our laws. Each subject is supposed to know them. But not

* Stobæi Loci Communes, pag. 707. It is an extract from the Palamedes, a lost drama of that tragedian.

"Τα τε Ληθης φαρμακ' ὀρθωσας, μονον
Αφωνα, και φωνουντα συλλαβας τιθεις,
Εξευρον ανθρωποισι γραμματ' ειδεναι.
Ωστ' ου παροντα πολιας υπερ πλοκας
Τακει κατ' οικους παντα επισασθαι καλως,
Παισιν τ' αποθνησκοντα γραμμαλων μιζον
Γραψαντας ειπειν, τον λαβοντα δ' ειδεναι.
Α δ' εις εριν πιπτουσιν ανθρωποις κακα,
Δελτος διαιρει, κ' ουκ εα ψευδη λεγειν."

only should every man be generally acquainted with them, but there are lines of distinction, and principles of conduct, which are superior and antecedent to them. The man of moral perceptions may know little, and remember less, of particular statutes: but he cannot offend. His mind is transfused with right sentiments and dispositions. His honour and rectitude are as the instincts of his soul. And it is in this manner that all ought to be instructed. Lycurgus wrote not his laws, because he loved to read them in the rudiments of public opinion and conduct. The poor have this claim upon us. Found their habits and train their ideas on great convictions of justice. Let them see the manifold evils, as well as guilt, of every encroachment on property. Demonstrate that law is for their protection. Show them its constant, quiet, and universal benefit. Awaken the glow which even they may feel. Their person is as sacred as that of the proudest noble: the strongest battlement is not more impregnable than their lowly thatch. Nor will it be difficult to teach them the fitness of certain arrangements which are embraced in our great constitutional polity. It will be as necessary, as it is just, to explain them. The first appearance of these settlements cannot be satisfactory to the humbler class. Whatever may be their abstract theory, their asserted balance, the poor feel not the positive advantage. They must labour and suffer still. It is not unnatural that they should think

the system partial and unbenevolent. Why these immense inequalities? Will there be engendered no envy nor distrust? Are they not a down-trodden race? And yet we believe, — apart from local and subordinate oppressions — not denying that without disturbance it might produce far more, — the whole is for the advantage of the poor. In its wreck would be their destruction. But to work out this conclusion, and make it bright and clear, much remains to be disabused. Still it may be shown that hereditary monarchy is a most wholesome measure, while our own civil wars may be adduced to the proof. It may be shown that a necessary aristocracy of cumulative wealth is checked and softened by one of title and descent. It may be shown that primogeniture is necessary to sustain the elevation of rank, and to secure honour from inefficiency. If these appendages and decorations of society be not so understood as to be appreciated, they need not hope for any perpetuity. Before infuriated ignorance they must perish. Like the rocks hurled forth in the rage of the volcano, the turbulent masses of which destroy the architecture at its skirt and the vineyard of its side, — prejudice and despair will scatter around them wild dismay, leave nothing fair and lovely behind them, and overwhelm the once happy scene in a common desolation.

The quaint, but just, apothegm, Knowledge is power, — does not give all the truth. It is not true

that there is none other power. Ignorance is power. It is a ready, congenial, and earnest, capacity for ill. It selects not its instruments, it defines not its ends, but it turns every thing into weapons, and suspects all as foes. Its stay is on brute strength. Its courage is fury. It knows no directing sway. It is unreasoning, monstrous, untameable. It is not devoid of cunning and perseverance. It can band its numbers, deal its sophisms, and aim its blows. And is this the power, which all confess to be so formidable, that we take to our embrace, in fear of the dangers of popular education? You may blind this giant-force, and hope then to make sport of its uncouthness: but it will be "avenged for its eyes" in a more indiscriminate and phrenzied ruin, careless that itself should fall, if the framework of society may but perish with it.

Shortsighted is the policy that meets only present difficulties. Administration is commonly a compromise, a shift, a party juggle: government is properly a profound science, a generous guardianship, anticipating danger, grappling evil, guiding opinion, exploring futurity. Society is far more than an accommodation for daily wants. This is but a small power in its balance, and only an accessory element in its life. It can never be preserved for honour, nor even for perpetuity, but by the influence of high moral principles. Rulers and people will be alike and simultaneously pure or corrupt. It is scarcely possible to think

of them as different in their general ideas. Tyranny reflects but the abjectness of those on whom it treads. When a community has grown sensual and slavish, bartering the noble in enjoyment for the mean, and the durable in advantage for the momentary, it must soon dissolve. Monarchy and Republic, by such degeneracy, have fallen into the same fate. It yawns for every form of corrupt and profligate society. Knowledge and virtue, those twin-stars of heaven, can only guide and bless the nations, and save them from the overthrow which the abandonment of great leading determinations and aims most assuredly provoke.

National character is dear to the patriot. If he be enlightened, free, and religious, he will not blindly exaggerate its worth. That character must not be sought in the patrician, in the philosopher, in the rich. It must be the reflection of the popular spirit. This must be its index and scale. It lies deep down in the public heart. And can we, with full measure of justice and integrity, place forth our national character and boast its untarnished shield? Would we not see it more inspired with the love of liberty, more erect in unpurchaseable independence, more gentle in domestic love? Would we not see it stronger, firmer, nobler, more philanthropic with all its civism, more unselfish with all its freedom? Some of these greater elements of character are already struggling into light. But we desire that such a character should attach to our whole people: that the world should rise up, and,

for our defence of right and our largess of benevolence, should call us blessed. Then should we inherit glory. That glory would be pure and refulgent. A religious education must be the precursor of such renown. Intelligence and moral principle can alone sustain it. The most distant and most hostile empires will do it justice. "This is your wisdom and your understanding in the sight of the nations which shall hear all these statutes, and say, 'Surely this great nation is a wise and understanding people.'" The keeping of this glorious name is in our own charge. We may win it, or we may lose it. The means are simple. We are free to employ or pervert them. The more tremendous is our responsibility. "Righteousness exalteth a nation, but sin is a reproach to any people."

There is one justification of educating the people which may rest at present in theory, but it carries no small weight with it. Employment now is general. With machinery it has increased. But population closely presses upon every improvement of mechanical power. It is not, however, improbable that hereafter, if not soon, human labour will be abridged. A leisure will be secured to labouring man. To restrict his hours of labour by any legislative enactment, is to oppress him. It is to sell away his birthright, his capital, his all. Yet if the means of production be so multiplied, that with far less toil he can satisfy his animal wants, his superfluous time must be em-

ployed. Education can alone prepare him for it. To the uneducated, its gross occupation would be far more exhausting and demoralising than the excess of labour. Who does not rejoice in the weekly half-holyday, wherever it is allowed? In the earlier closing of shops? In the limitation of the hours of business? It furnishes an opportunity of mental improvement. But were it to respect the uneducated, those who scorn all education,—important as we might deem it in itself, we could not but dread its constant abuse. We can conceive of a nation so full of mechanical auxiliaries, that its labourers need not work more than six hours in the day: we can conceive of that nation occupying itself in mental and virtuous activity: but we could not trust even Britain yet!

The unfolding of the moral principles of our nature is a necessary part in the highest education, and nothing inferior to this purpose can we desire for our poorer countrymen. For though we think literary knowledge is a boon,—though we would all were thus enlightened,—though we abhor and scorn the doctrine, that were this all, it were better to withhold it altogether,—we shrink not from the avowal, that this would be most imperfect. It would not be the discipline of the proper mind, the true soul, of man. It would be slight and disparagement of that which covers him with his greatness. Reason, in him, is not supreme and final. His understanding is not himself. These are solely the means of something higher.

They are only seen in their right place when subordinated to religion. This is the end and good of man. The moral nature then finds that which can satisfy it. It wields both reason and understanding, but as the instruments with which it seeks first "the kingdom of God and his righteousness." This is the use of reason, this is the reward of understanding. Man is now himself. His essence is evolved. His immortality is ascendant. His spirit has overcome.

We are not to be hampered in our view of the advantages attendant on education, by confining them to the present life. Let us think of man as religiously accountable to God, and follow him to the "great white throne." The labouring classes find few opportunities of intellectual culture, and hear but feeble warnings of religion. Their too common condition not only disqualifies them for the pleasures of literary and philosophical attainment, but their habits leave them in ignorance of the Christian salvation. It is that "no vision" in which "the people perish:" it is that "lack of knowledge for which they are destroyed." "To give knowledge of salvation by the remission of their sins through the tender mercy of our God, whereby the dayspring from on high hath visited us," must surely be our duty. This is the portion of the soul, of which it cannot be disinherited. We cannot begin too soon with the infant mind in these inculcations. Let him who would see another generation, not stubborn and rebellious, but setting their heart

aright, and their spirit steadfast with God, impress the infancy of the childhood of this. "Whom shall we teach knowledge? and whom shall we make to understand doctrine? them that are weaned from the milk, and drawn from the breasts."*

It is unjust to appeal to the present state of things, and to deduce from it the futility of the hopes which have been entertained as to the benefits of education. Education has not had its trial. Our people have not been taught. We can prove that, in the districts of this country where instruction most prevails, there are the fewest and the lightest crimes. No reasonable doubt can exist that this will be found equally true, wherever knowledge, Christian as well as lettered, spreads. The moral nature of man must remain the same. We see that the same may be affirmed of the most favoured classes. We expect not the cessation of evil from any such cause. But we must be permitted to protest against the supposed failure of an experiment which has not been made. As well might it be averred, that the diving-bell had not succeeded in its intention, notwithstanding that it had recovered as much of the sunken wreck as it could contain, because it had not swept all the depths nor exhausted all the treasures of the sea.

* Isa. xxviii. 9.

CHAPTER VI.

ON SABBATH SCHOOLS.

Existing under a modified form in Scotland from the period of the Reformation,—little needed among the Nonconformists of England, from the same epoch, a large portion of whose sabbaths was devoted to family instruction,—a system has arisen, among us, which we cannot too narrowly scan,—singular, original, and most potential. It is not the parole inculcation of religious truth,—in this practice of rote among its young disciples the Roman Superstition more than vies with all,—but a rudimental training, a mental development,—that in learning to read the Bible, religious instruction may not only be obtained but the capacity for acquiring it may be imparted. The plan is not uniform, but as generally adopted its purport is this: to explain, during some of the sacred hours, the art of reading as connected with that great means of grace and salvation, the study of the Scriptures. Yet this is but its lowest step. The warrant to do that which is chiefly mechanical is founded in its most religious end. God has given his Book to all,—to be read of consequence by all. The gift implies the privilege

and the duty. If we thus "profane the sabbath," we are "blameless." It is obvious, however, that the obligation which we hold most strict, the right which we deem most clear, to teach the young the signs and sounds of an alphabet in order to give them access to the words of eternal life, might not be needed; and that the present necessity to do so may quickly cease. The question then would simply be, What is the best mode of conveying scriptural knowledge to the young? It is to be feared that the parents, who send their children to be taught the art of reading, cannot read themselves. But a much wider and more serious view may be taken of the knowledge which those parents possess. It is lamentable how little disposed are the pious to speak of religion to their children. It may not be concealed that the aptitude to teach does not always belong to a competent knowledge of the thing to be taught. The fitness and the disposition of this class of parents to instruct their offspring in these matters may be, therefore, without invidiousness, distrusted. As it was requisite for those who could not read themselves, to send their children to those who could, if they were to be taught that method; so, it is as indispensable for them who are uninformed in religion themselves to devolve upon others the task of informing their children, if they are to enjoy that boon. Is there but an equivocal advantage in the system, is it only a succedaneum,—until, in the universal power to read, and the as universal possession

of the holy light, it may be superseded? We have no doubt that this is the judgment of many. Not only is their objection raised to the very preparatory character of its tuitions, but that it is a withdrawment from the domestic discipline. But surely this species of education has a valid claim to certain apologies as well as every other. Now there is a defence commonly set up for a very similar plan. It is contended that it is better,—the consideration of any incapacity apart, — for the young of the most opulent families to be removed for a time from home. Their education is argued to be conducted thus in a more concentrated manner. A juster œconomy of time and attention is secured. A farther plea is adduced in favour of its being conducted among many associates. The principle of competition is awakened, and the knowledge of the world, at some time inevitable, is only a little anticipated while it is gradually gained. Even a *public* curriculum finds numerous advocates, and its nationalism is loudly extolled. Surely, then, this humble system cannot be wholly vicious. Its change from the parental roof, its class-mates, its uniformities, are not unworthy features. Yet there are evils in each of these arrangements. The separation from the tender vigilance and circle of the family does a wrong to the feeling of the child, which it cannot, at any future age, altogether forget and slight. It is life's first trial. It is the heart's earliest shock. To be thrown into the society of indifferent companions, for weeks and

months and years, incurs no small hazard of moral infection. Where there is also but one general treatment, the individuality of original temperament will often be destroyed. From such dangers this system is exempt. It seizes the good alone. The child is still the inmate, though not without the shifted scene, of the habitation where its infancy was reared. Its most frequent, though not exclusive, companions are brothers and sisters. Its return, after the few hours of absence, reinstates it in all its freedom of idiosyncrasy and development. There seems no consistency in any objection which the educationist can raise against the Sabbath School.

But the valuable influence of these institutions, because of their unpretending character, has often been depreciated. The jeer has been raised against them, that the knowledge which they convey is so circumscribed. It has been forgotten, or concealed, that the knowledge was descriptive, that it was the most important, and that the agency employed in communicating it was precisely adapted to the knowledge itself. For none have boasted that this was, in a large sense, an education: all that has been asserted is, that scriptural knowledge may be, and that it is, in this manner, impressed most appropriately and most efficiently on an order of minds, which must be otherwise wholly unblessed with the knowledge of Divine truth, utterly untrained to the practice of Christian virtue. When a substitute can be found for it, there

will be no bigoted pertinacity to retain it. When the necessity shall itself have passed away, the labours which are now cheerfully rendered for the abatement of a tremendous amount of popular ignorance, will be still more cheerfully resigned. We can easily conceive of a better state of things. This is but a remedial and corrective measure.

And still we should not wish to do away with the system itself. In it we have discovered not only a mighty fulcrum of good; we have gained a *principle*. Most happy would it be if every child that entered such a school was thoroughly grounded in the practice of reading and writing: for these acquirements, it is self-apparent, do not constitute knowledge, but are only particular means of attaining it. Knowledge might then be immediately pursued. Every mind would be prepared and quickened for its investigation. The furniture of the room, only now not unsightly because of its utility, would be exchanged for the more intellectual exhibitions of Christianity. There would hang the map on which might be traced the walks of Christ and the voyages of his apostles; or the chart, by which might be explained the descents of patriarchal line and the epochs of synchronous history. The spelling-book and the primer would be forgotten. Another apparatus would appear. The most educated youth could find advantage in its discipline. The most cultivated method of teaching would not be here misplaced. The system, always and exclusively related

to the genius of the Christian Sabbath, would carry the religious education of our best families to a precision and a firmness, which, to speak leniently, it has scarcely yet approached. Hours of the week might be gracefully occupied to agree with the scriptural studies of the Holy Day. And there, as in an institution beyond the partialities and interruptions of the household, and yet scarcely standing out of the shadow of its eaves,—amidst the generous and inciting passions of a collegiate emulation,—might our children command a proficiency and reach a mastery, that would be an armour of light, proof against the weapons of infidelity,—and a wing of immortality, soaring above the enticements of the world. Happy homes, when the sabbath sunlight shall rest on them,—no holy office suspended, no benignant influence restrained, within their precincts,—which shall send forth their groups to the Christian Seminary as well as to the Christian Temple,—welcoming their return to stead and hearth with fairer smiles and fonder blessings! Very different Sabbath Schools do we hope to see: but far, ever far, be the period when their facility shall be disused and their principle be surrendered!

We are no apologists for any evil which may be detected in the administration of the system. We are no blind admirers of its too obvious defects. But it is power, and we desire its perfect action. It is infancy, and we seek its holy growth. There are peculiarities in it which ought to redeem it from the destruction

which awaits the fashion of the hour and the expedient of the age. It deserves a heraldic perpetuity.

Public gratitude has not failed to record its beneficial influence. Slow as its suffrage commonly is, and in this testimony most reluctant, it is all but universally acknowledged to have been the principal agent of the change, which, it is admitted, has taken place in our national manners. This is now a page of unquestioned History. We are a different people. There were opponents of the innovation. They would gladly have preserved the pastimes of village buffoonery and rudeness. They mixed up the national character with sports of barbarous cruelty and strife. Ignorance was the only aliment on which such brutal revels could depend. They are well nigh swept away. There were, indeed, senators, who denounced the change as the depression of public spirit and the breaking down of patriotic bravery; the confessed means which wrought that change even the mighty Horsley most unworthily and unprovokedly assailed. But the encomiasts of that former state of things are few, are reserved, are self-ashamed. The enemies of Sabbath-School Instruction are too scattered to band, too imbecile to argue, too abashed to confront. The senate and the cathedral will never again ring with these idle declamations.

We are bound, in estimating the measure of any national good, not merely to guage the positive merits of that measure, but the collateral benefits. That which can establish for itself a very scanty proof of

immediate influence, may often justly claim a large indirect operation. And were we unable to show the rise of a distinct intelligence, among the commonalty, as the effect of this system, still should we prove greatly in its favour if we could adduce its beneficial bearing on all intellectual improvement. Now we are confident of its actual sweep. But there is more than this. It has given a universal impulse. Look around on the March of Education. How much has it been exalted in its character and enlarged in its compass! Three results are specially manifest. The first is, the mental elevation of the wealthier classes, which, at no distant date, were little raised in mental culture above the hind. It was when the common people felt the desire, and formed the resolve, to learn, that those who are socially superior betook themselves to letters in self-defence. A second consequence was, the abrogation of that great inequality of mind which existed in a former century. There was a deep abyss dividing one rank of the nation from the other. Riches created no such inequality as did mind. It removed orders farther from each other which were already sufficiently apart. The educated were as a scantling to the uneducated. A true sympathy was impossible. But now no order, as an order, is left in ignorance. And thus knowledge binds all the members of the commonwealth together, informs them all, and assimilates them all. And a third advantage is, the character it has stamped upon all education. The grammar-school taught a

lore too little popular: every where instruction is now adjusting itself to the spirit of the times. Religious instruction was scarcely known in any of those foundations, nor even in the Universities themselves: now no course is endured, even by those who seem scarcely affected by their own dictum, which is not governed by religion. All this is substantial gain to the great cause of a diffused, impartial, and Christian, education. But to what may it be attributed? The majestic river rolls out of this humble spring. The mighty city has sprung up from this hidden quarry.

Nor is it unjust to enquire, when we examine the pretensions of any benevolent scheme, what evil is prevented, as well as what good is secured. A population which is unenlightened, may, for a time, be quiescent. But there is no security for its peaceful, or rather its torpid, habits. In a moment, fear or revenge may lash it into fury. A tempest, even at the time we suppose, was blazing upon the neighbour coast. It was of fearful violence and duration. It swept all the mounds of authority, all the ornaments of civilization, before it. And whence did it burst? From a people goaded to vengeance by their wrongs, but a people in every sense most untaught. Theirs was not the reason to understand the charm of liberty or the majesty of law. Theirs was not the virtue to hail the blessedness of civil order and the duty of individual restraint. No torrent could plunge with more headlong violence. Doubtless their leaders were more intelligent and more

wicked than themselves. But they were congenial instruments. The lowest of the people were but the pack of those cruel hunters, and, cheered by their halloos, bayed in deep cry for carnage and for blood. When it was feared that this anarchy would inundate our country, the first waves were stemmed by its awaking mind. It loved not misrule: it brooked not infidelity: it coveted not massacre. Its heart was stout against such lures as these. If the skirt of the storm went over us, it was but as the shrinking banner of a flying foe. The lightning played around the conductor of our purest institutions with a lambent gleam, its fork having struck, and its bolt having exploded, far away. The Sabbath School System was the salvation of the empire!

It may be said, and not without a colour of justice, that the very ignorant, that the rudest of our mobs, were the most zealous adversaries of certain Foreign principles which were once supposed to threaten the health of our national mind, and the stability of our constitutional existence. A distinction must needs be made which appeals for its truth to history. The lawlessness of those principles it required a true, a religious, virtue to resist. They were resisted. Yet the true resistance was not indiscriminating. To whatever guilty excesses those principles had led, the struggle, which called them into life, was most noble. Never had people such a ground of stern resentment. They could scarcely strike, but some oppressor fell, some

chain shivered. It seemed the birth-throe of liberty. So it would have been, had that people been christianised in their aims and associations. But there were within our shores those who hated the liberty. Vituperation was heaped unsparingly upon it, and was purposely confounded with all that had stained its professions. The fact really was, that none of those evil deeds had been done in the cause and vindication of freedom, but that noblest blessing was put forth as the covering and palliation of those evil deeds. High, holy, heavenly, liberty, was to be crushed. Truth was to be warped. Conscience was to be dragooned. Who should assist? Was it a people, firm to their ancestral immunities, their freeborn rights, who now rose for this foul persecution? The conspirators could not enlist allies like these. Liberty was no less their love, because of their disgust of enormities committed in its name. No, no, not these were chosen nor could be found: but the lowest of the low, the vilest of the vile. A caitiff horde answered the summons, the offscouring of all things, from dens, from prisons, from stews. They knew no cause, they recognised no principle, — no enthusiasm bore them away but that of conflagration and plunder and blood. These were the ruffian hands which were lifted for every work of destruction. Hirelings and mercenaries, they would have changed their course to any other for a larger ruin and a richer bribe. A more trenchant sarcasm upon political dissimulation and religious hypocrisy

cannot be imagined, than the trumpeted zeal of these incendiaries and marauders in the cause of order and the service of Christianity!

In this apology for the system, we must not forget that a sound Biblical education, which nothing but this system could have most partially secured, is of imperative value to our national greatness. Unknown to us be the levelling feeling in respect of nations, equally with that which regards individuals! We love our country. We would exalt it to the truest glory. We pray for its preeminence. But then we little reck of arms. At any rate, we have known a surfeit of such fame. We would sedulously cultivate the arts, but their perfection could not constitute us illustrious. We must dig a deeper foundation for a lasting celebrity. Virtue can only make us free, freedom can only make us great, religion can only make us virtuous. The column, however trophied and figured, cannot stand without this plinth. The shield of the fullest orb and richest device should be distributed into its quarters by the Cross!

The national character must ever depend upon the free, independent, use of the Scriptures. This is strictly a Protestant principle. It cannot cohere with Romanism. Whenever such right by that system seems to be allowed, it is with an evasiveness which makes us doubt its sincerity, it is with a supervision which makes us suspect its good will, it is with a reserve which makes us distrust its truth. No vernacular has

it catholically sanctioned. Diocesan and provincial license there may be, but then it is at the pleasure of the spiritual director of every licentiate. The Vulgate is the only translation formally permitted, and this has long since taken the place, and usurped the authority, of those Originals which it so often distorts and misrepresents. Now, go through the lands of Europe. See those where the Bible is openly, securely, avowedly, read: in other words, those which have embraced the principles of the Reformation. Their peoples are strong and noble in their doings and their virtues. The climate, the mountain scenery and atmosphere, may inspire in others the love of liberty,—patriotism may bind them to their native soil by a passion which is very disease,—but Tyrol and Switzerland, ready enough to repel the invader, crouch beneath their own yoke, and grind to their own superstition. Look at the German Mind. Luther's Version of the Holy Volume formed the language of that country. It gave freedom to the studies of its universities. It awoke the genius of its wide-spread family. It burst the spell which had oppressed it from the time of the Empire. The predictions of Tacitus would never have otherwise been fulfilled. Never, otherwise, would its banded nations,—with the lyre and the sword,—have driven from their bosom the military despotism which sought to draw them into itself. Its wild transport and hurrah of hatred to oppression had never else been heard. It is this which confers self-

respect on man. He is in constant communication with the truth of God. Nothing stands between him and it. His mind is filled with its noble images, its mighty conceptions, its triumphant hymns, its tender strains. He catches its inspiration. He imbibes its largeness. It is the Book which makes man brave and free. The inlaying and infusion of it in his soul turn him to another man. Its saving blessings apart, its general power is mighty. It reflects itself in the noblest efforts of human genius. Poetry, eloquence, music, literature, art, borrow unconsciously, if not directly, from its wealth. The Bible is the nation's sun, reflected when not seen. It is the same to the individual. He sits at the feet of no priest. He stipulates not for pardon with his fellow-worm. His soul, bowed before the Deity, is seen in the attitude of seraphs: but it does not stoop to man. It is erect in its own rights and prerogatives. What would our national character be, were the Bible taken from us? Were it a sealed Book? Could we only peruse it at the will of a confessor? How changed would be our manners and our feelings! The interdict would paralyse all that was noble and erect! It would be the reconstruction of that spiritual tyranny before which the inward independence of the spirit droops! It is in vain to say that the mind of our nation has been most abject when most religious. It was then at a pitch for grave and solemn arbitrement, if it saw itself beset by artifice and overwhelmed with wrong. The

men who loved the Divine Word were, in the hour of their country's peril, the men of steel. They sought peace, but they knew that it might be too dearly purchased. They hated war, but they knew that it was a better alternative than submission to injustice and collusion with dishonour. Reluctantly they called the sword from its scabbard, but, when drawn, they spared not the quarrel. They stood for all that is dear in affection and great in principle. They urged a fearless way. No Italian monk could quell them. They had trodden down the wretched pleas of power and impiety. They reached the true heroic. The Sword of the Spirit flashed from their hands, and they were invincible. Their soul gathered all dint and courage. They could resolve. They could resist. They could die. Truth to them was all. Life had no end, death no reward, but its defence. Reverse this scene. Bring back the age when Revelation was proscribed. Once more set the ban upon it. Chain it to the cloister. Immure it in the cell. And you shall see the fawning upon pretension, the abandonment to dictation, in our countrymen, again. It has appeared, wherever the Bible has been prohibited. A pseudo-Protestantism has mimicked Vatican expurgation. The Bible, we are told, is only capable of proof as the Church—like some Algebraic unknown quantity—warrants it, and is only capable of being understood as the Church interprets it. Its circulation has been scorned and opposed. And what is the result? These are the men who

repine at our liberty, long for the stagnancy of public thought and opinion, and would sell their country to the basest dotage of superstition, and to the most iron grasp of oppression.

The use of religious formulæ in the Sabbath instruction of young persons, has not found the same favour with our times, as it did with ages upon which we are wont to look back with respect and admiration. The catechism is supposed to cramp the enquiring mind, to predestine unjustly the ideas and opinions of the future intellect. But does not oral teaching suppose that there is the early initiation of the child into certain sentiments? that there are the recommended and enforced sentiments of them who teach them? Whether it be wrong thus to lead captive the unformed mind, to anticipate and press its future decisions, will be differently adjudged. They who attach little importance to religious speculation, who maintain its indifference, however just, and its innocence, however erroneous, will decry it as illiberal. They who believe that truth is one, that it is inconvertible, that it alone can sanctify the heart, that it may be ascertained, that for a descriptive assertion of it they ought willingly to die, will not shrink from such a charge. If Christianity be a yet unsettled problem, the uncertain gloss ought not to be imposed. But if millions know what it is, and unanimously declare its meaning,—if millions, in circumstances and under influences the most different, declare that they have arrived at this conclusion in the

same way,—then do we possess the moral demonstration that it is determinable, that it is a doctrine of fixed certainty. If it be not, if we be left in necessary suspense, if the most we know of it is but a guess, faith is presumption, martyrdom is fanaticism. "Make not thyself over wise; why shouldst thou destroy thyself?" But we have not so learned Christ. We know whom we have believed. We can teach, therefore, with all authority. We can prove out of the Scriptures that these things are so. We digest them into summaries. They are easily remembered. They cleave to the mind in its farthest years. It is still objected, that the dogmas are often beyond the understanding of the young. But are not the rules of grammar and the postulates of geometry? Yet these must be well stored in the memory first, and then experience applies them. The child learns, it may be with little apprehension of the purport, certain definitions of doctrinal truth. These are only now in the custody of his recollection. Reason soon swells as a flowing tide: the channels are prepared to receive it. A stronger light breaks in upon the mind: these indented characters stand forth in its irradiation. A precise proposition is already adjusted, a module of the truth, enabling the judgment to give it a more ready perception, and to retain it in a more compressed form. In after life, these catechetical answers come to us, not as early lessons only, but as ripe thoughts, as weighty reflections, as echoing oracles,—binding youth and age together

in the sound words which memory keeps distinct, and which faith makes holy. And when such epitomes of the Christian verity are authenticated by proofs cited from Scripture, the true principle is avouched. What is it? The words of men are worthless and unbinding, but as they are founded on the word of God. The child is directly taught to look into his Bible for the reason and sanction of whatever he repeats. It does not, however, follow, that there should be no synopsis of the gospel. Convenience is much consulted by the practice. The vacant mind is filled. The thoughtless mind is arrested. The indifferent mind is impressed. And the advantages are not all immediately seen. The ideas of men, too much engrossed by other things, are preserved in clearness and consistency: while a reason of the hope that is in them may be more compactly and more pointedly assigned. The devoteeism of the Romish system finds its principal support in this early discipline. The purest Protestant churches, and in their best periods, have always made it their chief care. The Episcopalian community of this country strenuously insists on it as the preliminary of all learning, and as the condition of all privilege. Time was when the Nonconformists would have disowned the family which lived in its neglect. And we have admirable treatises for this end. Sometimes they are found in large volumes, as in Hammond's Practical Catechism, —the Churchman's boast. Sometimes they are put into more didactic forms, as in the Assembly's Cate-

chism, — the inheritance and glory of the Evangelic Separatist. Of this latter, it may be affirmed, that it is the least, of all such works, sectarian; while it is earnest in the theology of a particular type, all questions which affect the rites of worship and the schemes of polity are not so much as named. Its plan of sustaining itself by scriptural references, whether they be satisfactory or not, must be approved by all.

There is no feature of this system more beautiful, none which renders its highest modification more worthy of perpetuity, than the necessary temper of its discipline. We need not contemplate the ordinary class and the common teacher, to understand it. The tone, the manner, the look, are not the common auxiliaries. It is not parental power, where nature has infixed its original behest. It is not professional authority, the transference of that primary law to those who stipulate a secular remuneration. In the household, there is oftentimes the respect of an unreasoning deference. In the academy, there is as frequently the submission to an overaweing dictate. In part, both these examples may be lamented; yet are they in part necessary to the constitutions in which they are found. But this is a labour of love. The little scholar is not thrown upon the teacher as the child on the parent, nor is bound to him as the pupil to the preceptor, — all the ties which attach him are voluntary and amiable. It is the voice of the Saviour in his disciples, Suffer the little children to come unto me! He lays his hands

upon them, through the hands of his people. In no other instance can instruction wear this form. It is the disinterestedness which, properly speaking, no parent can evince. This is a tender adoption. It may be violated. But who does not feel that in such a scene, the harsh accent, the frowning brow, the threatened chastisement, are untrue? Do they not jar, like profane interruptions? Why may not the incomparable kindness of the system be prolonged, when its earlier and cruder stages are well nigh forgotten, and when its capabilities shall be developed in their perfect maturity?

And ere we yield to the outcry against the system, as though because it is not adequate to the wants and deserts of the people, it is therefore inefficient, we must be permitted to affirm and to argue that, without it, all other endeavours would be crippled. We have shown the impulse it has given them. Let it be withdrawn, and a main prop of our popular intelligence would be snapped asunder. That intelligence is not small when compared with former times. The qualification for municipal honours would not now be conceded to the skill of counting a few hob-nails. The capacity to read would scarcely now be deemed a clerical distinction, worthy of a special benefit. The alteration of the solar style would not now be execrated as a pilfering of time from the people. The story of the apparition now finds but little chance of credit. Storms blow, and no one suspects that the poor bereft and stricken widow of the

village has raised them. No other expedient than the Sabbath School would meet the case of the children of the needy. It is gratuitous. There is none other that ought to be. It begins with the formation of the mind. It disdains not even the earliest years. It selects those hours which poverty can exclusively call its own. It wins confidence in circumstances where it is rarely felt. It blends many intellects in a way very favourable to their excitement and invigoration. The rich and the poor meet together, and their mutual jealousies are allayed. There goes forth a constant influence which works in every channel of life. Prejudice and superstition lose hold after hold. The deep, broad, shadows, which ages had accumulated and condensed, break and flee away. Great questions enter at this humble postern into the recesses of the public mind. Comprehensive principles are evoked from the least of all seeds, which thus may fall into the infant heart; and these rise up for general knowledge, like the resistless spread of a forest. How many have recorded their obligations! How many have dignified their benefactors! The great, the noble, ones of excellence and usefulness, have been born here! It was the drawing forth of the axle which became a chariot of triumph! It was the exercise of the stripling warrior, who has been destined to seize the garland of victory!

The Christian Ministry would be maimed of its best instrument, of its right arm, were this specific co-operation abolished. To the poor is the gospel preached.

To enter into the simplest statements of truth, some forethought, some preparation of ideas, is indispensable. The vacant mind, though the epithet might too well intimate the absence of religious conceptions, does not exist. It is full of error and misapprehension. It has yet to learn the first principles of the doctrine of Christ. In it is the mixture of infantile ignorance and masculine enmity. Happy is the facility which this system affords us in beginning with the child; his heart is tender and supple. What prepossessions are escaped! What dreams are unknown! The pastor may henceforth assume much of history, of doctrine, of principle. The child is wise unto salvation. The whole quality of instruction may be raised. The man of God is encouraged and impelled. He must feed his flock with knowledge. He cannot slight even the children before him,—excusing his carelessness by their ignorance, or his apathy by their unconcern. The Sabbath School generally supplies the sanctuary with its most intelligent hearers.

The Christian Church would no less suffer in the abstraction of this its happiest appendage. It has drawn forth into modest light some of the most active and holy spirits of the age. A peculiar adaptation has been elicited, a mastery of the intricacies which it is so difficult to unfold, a penetration into the motives which it is so common to overlook: the discovery of these sacred talents were worth all the labours and charges which have from the beginning been incurred.

Here has the future pastor first felt the inspiring power moulding him to an unknown work. Here has the missionary, the future bearer of the keys which shall unlock the word of life to hundreds of millions and disimprison those hundreds of millions themselves, first received the mantle and the burden of his unessayed enterprise. Suppress the Sabbath School, and the energies of a people are benumbed: a principal scope for action and devotement is cut off: the heart of the church beats languidly and heavily.

The present advantages of this order of schools are already great: but hitherto they are chiefly *redeeming*. That is now done in them which should precede and qualify the entrance of every child: that now is required which should be done at home. We, however, anticipate an immense improvement on the system. That improvement shall be but its proper growth. The beginning was small: the latter end shall greatly increase. Instead of the drudgery of teaching and learning the barest inchoates of knowledge, the little community shall become the Bible class and be addicted to a Bible catechesis. The youth of our best families and of our pious members shall be in constant attendance. Whatever belongs to a scriptural education, may, at least, be grounded here; and a sufficiency of direction in regard to other reading may be easily supplied to those who enjoy the leisure of the week, so as to perfect it. The criticism of the sacred text, — the history of codices, — the collation of manuscripts, — the

external, intrinsic, and experimental, evidences of Christianity,—exegesis, generalization,—the cavils and objections of infidelity,—the serious, though easily surmountable, difficulties, together with the presumptive arguments arising out of those difficulties, in genealogy and chronology,—all may be laid open to a higher culture of the juvenile mind.

It is, therefore, another idea which the Sabbath School awakens among the churches in the northern part of our island, and of the Transatlantic shores. They would not abrogate this institution, but the model-thought, the archetype, is far more exalted than our own. Pastors, deacons, the most gifted, the most zealous, take their part. It is an intellectual labour which none think unworthy of them. The plan is not only interrogatory and suggestive. While it awakens a sense of mental power and activity, it puts in requisition both the knowledge of the instructor, and his aptitude of conveying it. He may not slumber. He cannot idle. The religious encyclopædia must he explore and teach. And is not this the highest style of Christian, and Christian minister, that he shall be mighty in the Scriptures? Why have we mourned in our day over such revolting defections from principle? Why is the rule of judgment and obedience even now so little settled? Why the present contests of opinion? Why reasonings the most forced and inconsequential? The Bible is neglected. The Bible is displaced. It must be restored to its supremacy. It

must be allowed its incontrovertible authority. It must be enthroned in its all-sufficient independence. Aid not this oracle by incantation. Help not this sun by satellite. Support not this heaven by axis. But what shall give the Holy Volume this rightful vindication? Does not every influence of human systems work in an adverse direction? Is it not a tendency of our fallen nature always to seek the satisfaction of itself with the inferior and unworthy imitation? For the "fountain of living waters," do we not substitute the vain likeness of a "broken cistern?" Instead of a full day-light, do we not "compass ourselves about with sparks?" So have we disparaged the Word. All the plagues of schism and heresy, of error and infidelity, have come upon us for this sin. We "hold fast deceit, we refuse to return." There is, nevertheless, a power in action, which shall, we believe, "restore all things." It is that educatory regimen of which Scripture is the rule and end. Bible knowledge is the knowledge which we are most desirous may increase. Bible truth is the truth whose promotion we principally implore. This alone can *save*. We see in it, also, the only spirit of an enlightened philosophy, and the only basis of a sound legislation. It is the catholicon for all political, as well as moral, ills. There is no lever to upheave the sunken nations but this. The Sabbath School system may well then be our boast. Like some great principle of nature, incredibly simple and certain, it is only so much the more sublime, that it serves

where all else fails, and achieves that of which every thing beside despairs.

They who "call the Sabbath a delight, the holy of the Lord, and honourable,"—who say not "what a weariness it is,"—who deprecate every abridgment of its moments and every relaxation of its decencies,—will hold to a system which is its truest acknowledgment and best defence. A child so educated will not be easily induced to profane it. Instead of secularising it, the school, which takes its name, causes it to be remembered and hallowed. If this country be ever doomed to fall into the vortex of that desecration which marks the Continental Sabbath,—and there are conspicuous leanings to the doctrine which would abet it, as well as palpable conformities to the practice which would acclimate it,—the instruction which it identifies and blesses must first be overthrown. Then, indeed, its worship may be speedily forsaken, and its sanctity be profaned. That sign between heaven and earth may be blotted out. Its deep-fixed reverence in the public mind will be laughed to scorn. A whole Sabbath, the only possible Sabbath, the Sabbath of both Covenants, will be repealed. Antichrist may then hold its revel! Tractarianism will have gained its passion! The Sabbath of Laud and Butler will burst in all its irreligion and dissipation over our land! Then for the Morris-dance on the common and the Polka in the hall! Ye who shudder at the thought of such a wreck, stand forth the uncompromising assertors and

guardians of this best Discipline of our Nation's Youth and Country's Posterity!

It cannot be doubted, that the spirit, peculiar to this institute, has produced the most beneficent effects. If its inevitable reaction were only to be viewed, there is no result of a present kind more to be desired. The nobility of the land have been seen occupied in the instruction of the children of their poorer neighbours: merchants have gathered round them the offspring of their artizans and workmen. Was it possible that no conciliatory influence should thus be borne to the mind of tenants and servants? Was not the distance of the parties for a little while reduced and shaded down for mutual good will? Did not affability and condescension banish discontent and surly malignity? Would not both parties profit in these passages of confidence? Must not station and rank lose their haughty bearing? Must not poverty and depression reject their wrongful suspicion? While the nation has been divided into so many factions and convulsed with so many dissensions, it is no small good, that the rising generation have been placed under a system which gives the most obvious contradiction to the brawl of the demagogue, the insinuation of the sceptic, and the scorn of the churl.

And this influence has a two-fold direction. The manners of the uneducated parent are softened as he discerns the gentle bearing of his offspring. He feels that the new-awakened sense of truth and right, now

set before him, constrains him to caution and self-restraint. A child's rebuke is a smiting thing. He cherishes a deeper interest and hope in his family, and if he speak foolishly of their attainments and their prospects, it is an ambition we have little heart to check. His happiness is now within his household. He provides for it and tends it. It is his charmed circle. It is his garnered store. He rises in the scale of humanity. He is from the moment of his first desire for the true welfare of his children, a useful citizen. He is another man. The State has in him a support; unseen, but important, as the foundation's most hidden stone. His influence is carried onward to an extent that omniscience only can define. From that purified fountain of domestic order and intelligence, a downward river, still purer than its source, goes to far distant times and generations. The parental covenant shall assume a higher sacredness. All the domestic charities shall bloom into richer beauty. Each nation shall be a family, and each land shall be a home. And thus some humble individual may become an honoured founder, he may "become a great and mighty nation," giving laws to them and ruling them from his urn. The light may be thrown upon the remotest period, and be reflected from an unborn state! "One generation shall tell Thy works to another, and shall declare thy mighty acts!"

It is, doubtless, an inferior view of Revelation,—but one not unworthy, one not inapposite,—that it

is the perfect rule of all social obligations. It stands the impartial umpire between high and low, rich and poor. The condition of life cannot exist which it does not arrange. Its deontology is most exactly measured. Were the argument to need it, we might remind any whom the community most slights or aggrieves. that this is their surest staff and broadest buckler. We address another class. Many place all civil virtue in subordination. Let them be assured that the Sacred Volume cannot offend them, save when their own terms are unjust and arbitrary. It teaches youth to rise up in honour before age. It inculcates submission to authority. It urges respect to dignities. It upholds the claim of masters. It inspires contentment under calamity. It awakens gratitude for kindness. Let the children of the poor be trained in its counsels and precepts, and no real interest of society can remain unbenefited: order will find, in the operation of this system, its best security,—property, its safest bulwark,—and law, its truest reverence!

They who think of Revelation as only deserving a superficial perusal, will except to our statements. They can only wonder that we should place it as a theme worthy of continuous interest and research. But we know that it is "exceeding broad." Its "secrets of wisdom are double to that which is." We see in it immortal fruit. Here lies, we believe, the corner-stone of all those principles, the rudiment of all those discoveries, which shall beautify our eternal existence. The

"sayings of this Book" are not forgotten in heaven. It is there that they are set in their brightest light, and that they are unfolded in their largest development, and that they are transcribed in their purest record. The child who is taught to read, and to understand its simpler portions now, carries in his hand the words of eternal life. He who has entered upon the true examination of it, cannot fail to perceive how its essential truths may enduringly engage the human mind, nor to acquire the taste which rejects any lower theme. It is the "*beginning* of wisdom;"* but distant worlds shall be its ever-climbing steps, and eternal ages its ever-glorious waymarks.

The sarcasm against this great national system,—for so it may be regarded,—falls pointless. The bolt is easily shot, but it only rebounds. Our fashionable and political literature has often attempted this opposition, but always without success. "You give monarchs," says D'Israeli, "Constitutions to teach them sovereignty, and nations Sunday Schools to inspire them with faith." This style does not deceive us, false as it really is. It is intended to overwhelm our project with derision. We are not made ashamed. Though themes, little allied, are placed together, we ask not their disjunction. We love "Constitutions," because they "teach monarchs sovereignty,"—its design, its law, its limit. We love "Sunday Schools," because they "inspire nations with faith,"—not the hereditary

* Psa. cxi. 10.

and ecclesiastical, but the personal and the voluntary, with its reasons and convictions.

Every other species of popular education will fail to promote the great ends of social improvement but that which has its basis in Scripture, and its principle in benevolence. You have to gain the confidence of the poor, as well as to instruct them. The chains of Xerxes might as easily bind the rush of the Hellespont, as you can shackle the popular opinion and feeling. Go and win the nation's heart. Go with the Sacred Volume in your hand, with the tranquil atmosphere of the sacred day around you, your lips breathing prayer and distilling knowledge, leading your young catechumens into the Christian Temple,—and long arrears of vengeance shall be cancelled, and a thousand wrongs shall at once be redressed. Only can you thus mould your people. They are tractable to light and love. Such a people are worthy to be respected, to be venerated: never need they to be feared. This is the palladium of our national existence, the raying out of our national glory, the building up of our national strength. "Wisdom and knowledge shall be the stability of thy times."*

* How little this system was understood, how unduly it was estimated, at first, may be seen in Winter Evenings or Lucubrations, by Vicesimus Knox, vol. i. 48, "On the Beneficial Effects of Sunday Schools." The Article is intended to be laudatory,—but it is "faint praise."

CHAPTER VII.

ON FOREIGN SYSTEMS AND MEANS OF EDUCATION.

If any thing could bring to light the deep ignorance of *France*,—the reputed nation of intellectual vivacity and refinement, it was her Revolution. Instead of being the result of the strong expansion of mind, it failed from the want of it. Knowledge would have preserved all its blessings and prevented all its calamities. Never had a people a juster ground of quarrel, even to the last appeal: liberty has not ceased to mourn its bitter discomfiture by the betrayal of their folly. They threw away the noblest chance ever given to a nation of striking down tyranny throughout the world. What must have been the mental debasement of a people where the poissarde and the chiffonnier were often the principal leaders, and the lowest fauxbourg sent forth their daily report of the national destinies! It is in vain to blame the illuminati. Great as was their guilt, this was not their doing, nor any result of their influence.* There were, however, statesmen and publicists

* See Mounier, with the remarks of Lord Jeffrey on it in the first Number of the Edinburgh Review; as also those of Lord Brougham in the 3rd vol. of his Political Sketches.

who saw the cause of failure,—men of benevolence and virtue, who abhorred the hideous crimes which stained that great event, crimes that have for ever robbed it of all authority as an example, and that for half a century have served for a plea to strengthen the most iron despotisms. These patriots saw that education had alone been wanting to have given freedom,—rational, constitutional, legalised,—to mankind. Early as 1794, the Convention passed a decree for the establishment of *normal* schools, the first use, we believe, of the word in this connection.* The schoolmaster was therefore to be created. Napoleon in 1802 established the ECOLES PRIMAIRES. Education could not prosper where the conscription counted out the rising race: the youth of that empire was drafted for the carnage of far distant battle fields. The reinstatement of the ancient dynasty was unfavourable to schools which were strictly secular; and more religious seminaries well nigh absorbed them. Notwithstanding, the Minister of Public Instruction took them under his care and direction: and they still received a support from the national revenue. But superstition was in this

* "La Convention s' etait imposée la mission de regénérér la France; elle procéda par la destruction de ce qui existait, avec l' intention de tout reconstruire sur des bases plus solides et plus larges. . . . Mais si grande que fut sa puissance, elle s' en exagéra quelquefois l' entendue, et l' expérience nous a appris (leçon retentissante et profonde) que s' il suffit d' un décret ou d' une loi pour abattre et desorganizer, il faut d' autres moyens pour reedifier."—Ecoles Royales de France. Par Alexandre de Saillet, p. 316.

affair too confident, and the second Revolution opened with a prospect, bright and auspicious, for national education. With the principle of such government interference, we are not now called to deal: facts alone concern us. The present Monarch—in exile himself a teacher of youth—put himself at the head of the instructors of his people; and in the memorable law of June 26th, 1833, he demands the presentation of a triennial report, to himself personally, of all these Elementary Schools. In the return offered by M. Villemain, we find the following particulars. Thirty-three thousand and ninety communes, out of the whole number of thirty-seven thousand two hundred and ninety-five, have now these primary schools. The children admitted to them amount to 3,000,000. During the past five years, £1,200,000. have been spent in building or purchasing school rooms. There are also many classes for adults. These include 68,500 persons, who repair to them in the evenings, after daily labour, crowding from the champ and the atelier,—and during the hours of the Sabbath. There are 555 Infant schools, beautifully called Salles D'Asyle,—which receive a total of 51,000 scholars. Each commune must, for itself, or in conjunction with others, form one of these primary schools. The admission is gratuitous in all these communal establishments, where poverty cannot afford the ordinary terms, which are very low. Each citizen has a legal right to enter his children. The teachers obtain small stipends of about £25. These are increased according

to the number of the pupils and the wealth of the district. There are also higher schools, les écoles supérièures, and many scholars pass from the one to the other. The Roman Catholic Religion, as that of the majority, is taught. Special Schools exist for Protestants, in which there is declared the fullest liberty, save that there is the same inspection of them by the Prefects, who, generally holding the popular faith, can scarcely be welcome visitants or impartial judges. One provision is certainly liberal. Each school is under the maire, a municipal council of twelve, the curè, the common magistrate, and the *Protestant* pastor, if there be any. These are subject to the control of a similar body of the arondissement, and that one to that of the department. This is superintended by the representative of the king. The funds for these schools are compulsory, but only according as there is need. The communes are to avail themselves of any local revenue, and of any donations or bequests for that end. Then they may levy, *contributions fonciere, personnelle, et mobiliere.** If there be deficiency after all, it must be supplied from the national exchequer. The attendance is *voluntary*. The consciences of the parents are consulted in all that regards the religious education of their children. That enlightened educationist and statesman, to whom we have referred, says in his report:—

"This subject has given rise to no serious difficulty.

* For all expenses of rent, of the child's education, and of school furniture.

The *mixed* schools,—namely, those made up of pupils of various persuasions, have answered well; but separate schools have been specially maintained for the legally recognised dissenting minority of a community, when proper reasons have been shown for it, and when there were means to do so. Thus, in 1840, while there were 28,818 schools for Roman Catholics, there were also 677 for Protestants, 31 for Jews, and 2059 of a mixed character." The simultaneous method of tuition is at present the favourite, to the rapid abandonment of the individual and mutual. Laborde claims the invention, but it is a mere copyism of the British system. The adult schools depend most strictly upon voluntary support: none are taxed for them. They are countenanced by government, but are directed by that class of persons who possess both lay and ecclesiastic character,—religious, but not cœnobitic,—the sœurs and the freres. It is supposed, but is not stated, that these schools are all registered and placed under general supervision. The teachers of the elementary schools are 62,859. They are all examined in their qualifications, whether stipendiary or not, and are not suffered to hold the station without *brevet d' instruction.* The model schools are 79, in which the more proficient children, intended to be teachers, are received from the primary ones, and are kept three years. The discipline is very severe, and if any of these in didactic training be careless and negligent, they are quickly dismissed. It is impossible to see such a system in operation,

whatever we may think of its basis, without admiring its arrangement and acknowledging its influence. To this apparatus may be added a higher order of education, — in 46 Royal Colleges, having 18,697 students; in 287 Communal Colleges, with 26,854 students; while £80,000. were paid in 1842 towards their expenses. It is calculated, however, that the third of the population, at present, can neither read nor write.*

In Germany, education has found its favourite theatre, and throughout the compass of that great country it has advanced with gigantic strides. The cradle of the Reformation, that true æra of popular knowledge, it might be expected to furnish specimens of mental power and culture. And there is an earnestness, a heart, an inborn life, in all it does. A closer examination may sometimes disappoint, — like the Shadow-Spectre of its Hartz, the wild and the romantic of its intellect may disappear. It still retains the wonderful; and there is a course of development which points to a glorious future. Its Scholarly Burschdom is itself a great type and influence. It is a confederacy, a fascis, against tyranny. It is an adolescence of mind bursting out against prejudice and prescription. It is the sacred youth which guards its country and would hasten its age. Its folly and fanaticism is often suf-

* See the Public and Domestic Economy in France, by the Editor of Galignani's New Paris Guide. Also, Chambers' Information for the People, 1835.

ficiently apparent. Yet there is strength in such a sodality. There is certain success in such a cause. The enthusiasm cannot be lost. While it exists, woe to the traitor and to the spoiler! Invasion and perfidy cannot live before it! It is knowledge incited by patriotism, warmed by bravery, and refined by sentiment! It is a thermal spring, like those of its own land, which no season nor accident can freeze or diminish! But it is with its humble plans of national education that we must now content ourselves. We will put the statistics of this matter into the form of question and answer:—

What proportion of the population can read and write?

The proportion, in the whole population, of children attending the public or parish schools, is as *one* in *six* or *seven*. In the Roman Catholic states, where they are generally only under instruction from six to twelve years of age, the proportion is less than in the Protestant, where education is carried forward until fourteen and fifteen years. At least, 5,000,000 attend school, about an equal number of boys and girls: in Prussia alone there are 2,000,000 in 22,000 schools. Very few villages can be found without one; and even in mountainous districts, where the inhabitants are necessarily scattered, proper regulations are enforced to prevent any serious neglect. No villages are suffered to have one in common, if distant more than two miles from each other, in a flat country, or than

one mile, in a wold: they cannot consolidate if there be marsh or river impassable at any season: if the number be too great, namely, more than a hundred scholars to a teacher, the union is disallowed. Perhaps in this monarchy, the number of children under instruction reaches the most perfect figure. Take its population at 12,726,823 souls, the report of its last census. Of this number there were, in 1831, 4,767,072 children up to the age of full fourteen years. Now the calculation is, that out of one hundred children, from one day old to fourteen years of age, about forty-three are between seven and fourteen years,—which is the appointed period for attendance. This table gives us the sum of 2,043,030 in course of instruction. The official returns are very complete as to the efficiency of the law: for in that very year, there were, 2,021,421, leaving a deficiency of only 21,609: a deficiency we may easily suppose to be made up of children, imbecile, aristocratic, in foreign schools, or in native private establishments. The number is, therefore, generally taken from the estimates of Prussia, which is deemed the true index, or the just ratio, of instruction to population,—*one in six upon the whole.* These can all read and write, or are learning to read and write.

Does education in the free schools embrace general elements of knowledge?

Instruction, except in very particular cases, is not confined to reading and writing,—these humbler ac-

quirements are thought much more of in Britain and France. In Germany they are esteemed very inadequate to improve the mind or morals. Indeed, so universal are these branches of knowledge, that in Bohemia, beggar children are commonly found versed in them. In all the free schools, arithmetic and general learning, together with religion, must be taught. There are several hundred infant schools, for the reception of destitute and vagrant children, and of those detected in venial offences, where all these instructions are enjoined. In most of the States, education is not limited to the legal course and period of the fourteenth year: it then takes another form, the religious training by pastors in the churches on the Sabbath and the Festivals.

What is taught of religion?

This is considered the first thing in the universal system. Its matter and vehicle will differ according to the faith of the country. In the Protestant division of the country, the Bible is explained, Luther's Catechism is adopted, and generally a particular catechism belonging to each State. But the catechetical method is almost invariable.

Which are the States of the Confederation most, or least, advanced in the science and diffusion of education?

Prussia, perhaps, may take the first place: some will contend for Wurtemburg, still more will urge the claims of Saxony, as its rival. Then we may arrange

Baden, Nassau, Weimar, Bavaria, and Austria. Those which are behind in the race are Mecklenburg, the Hanse Towns, Pomerania, some parts of Hanover, and the electorate of Hesse. Good public buildings, for this purpose, are found in almost all the states, but especially in Prussia, Saxony, the Rhenish provinces of Bavaria, Nassau, and Holstein.

Is the system legislative or voluntary?

Though each Country has its own statutes, all agree to make education strictly a business of government. It is as much considered the right of the government to interpose for this end, as to lay a tax and to require military service. It will be a proud day for the freeman when the right of rulers shall only be recognised as another name for their duty. It would be unjust to the great Diet of Germany, to deny that it conceives its education of the people to be both.

Is attendance compulsory or free?

The question which is most serious in a Country like ours, where there are such varieties of opinion and such oaths of liberty, does not excite any considerable jealousy in this. Its States are generally without constitutions. The people are accustomed to see every thing done by an Executive. They do not feel themselves competent, or have never been treated as if they were, to build bridges, make roads, or direct canals. They affect not the temerity of forming libraries and museums. Others think for them. Be it religion, be it education, — strangely contrived to be always put

into one manifesto by the politician, and into one category by the philosopher, though two things were never more dissimilar,—they accept it, and quietly submit. The poor man, any man of humble life, is controlled, beyond doubt, in the education of his family. Education is police. Prussia, which seems to leave an opening for discretion in this case,—which only insists, according to law, upon the school attendance of all children if there be not satisfactory proof that this care is attended to at home, really and practically is inflexible. Its code speaks of the infliction of fine, imprisonment, and hard labour, upon the parent, who does not send his family; and upon all masters and guardians who may have the trust of children. It is military muster and parade!

The only exemptions which are allowed from the compulsory attendance, can be pleaded, in privilege, by very few. Domestic education is not of child by parent, but by tutor. The private school to which the child may be sent, involves serious expense. This latter institution is under government control and license. The poor man is left without a choice. It is a great excellence of this system that it is graduated: if the boy be capable, he is passed from the burgher school to the gymnasium, and, if capable still, he is transferred to the university.

How are the schools supported?

The public schools are sometimes possessed of funds; but as these are generally insufficient, they are

assisted by the State. These local funds arise either from a former excess of income, or from private liberality. Though called free, every child must pay according to the ability of the parent. The Board receives the money, and a stated salary is pledged to the master, irrespective of the receipts from the pupils.

What are the means of obtaining competent schoolmasters?

Prussia possesses sixty normal schools: a few are found in the smaller states, such as Gotha and Oldenburg: and there are some even in Mecklenburg and Hanover.*

It may be added, that in different parts of Germany there are schools and asylums expressly for the children of prisoners and state-culprits. There is great mercy in the conception of such establishments. A necessity is upon the government to withdraw such parents from their families: it does all it can to compensate for the disasters which follow the execution of its just decree. Such offspring lie under a social ban which devotes them to vice; a prejudice of scorn has already condemned them; the home is broken up; each avenue of success is shut against them;—how reasonable, how equitable, as well as beneficent and kind, is such a provision!

* Much of the above information has been taken from Works by Dr. Kröger: viz. "Travels through Saxony, Bohemia, and Austria," 2 vols. "Travels through Germany and Switzerland," 2 vols. "Remarks on the new French Laws on Education."

The state of education in Hamburg, that great resort, that noble gate to the depths of the Continent, bears certain commercial features, as we might expect; and it is opposed by difficulties which growing regions do not know. From personal enquiries and observations, the following information has been obtained. The proportion of children in schools is not so high as in other parts of Germany, being not more than one in eight. The schools are of two foundations, the parochial and the free. They are very similar. In both are given instructions in reading, writing, drawing, history, geography, the vernacular grammar, and religion. This latter subject of tuition includes the explanation of the historical parts of the Bible, while catechisms, texts, and hymns, are required to be committed to memory. There are twelve free schools in the city and suburbs: they are well organised, and contain 3500 pupils. The parish schools are seventy-seven in number, and educate 3550. To the list must be added five testamentary schools, and five belonging to different churches. There is a Collegiate Institution also, the Johanneum, with Professors of a very respectable rank. The power of the clergy to inspect, and very greatly to control, these establishments, is, perhaps, rather admitted than ordained. It does not seem vigorously exercised. One peculiarity ought to be noticed. The compulsion known in other countries is not sanctioned here. The only binding punishment of ignorance is, that no child can be confirmed who has not been edu-

cated consistently with his station. But the consequences of this privation are not light. Most of these remarks will apply to Bremen and Lubeck.

Denmark was not only an early patron of the normal system,—a sure criterion that popular education is active and extending,—but the monitorial plan of instruction has made such rapid progress, that from 1819 to 1829, seven schools had increased to two thousand six hundred and forty-six. If the pretension of Holland be just, that *one* in *five* of all its inhabitants is at school, Prussia and Saxony must yield to it. Norway is better educated than Sweden, upon a parochial scheme,—but less dependent upon the clergy than in the latter kingdom. The term is greater than usual, nearly ten years. It is made obligatory on each parent; and he may be punished even if he prematurely withdraw his child. Switzerland, the hill-country of freedom and independence, has pushed on in the race; but it is only in a few of its cantons that it can boast its sixth in education. In 1828, Lord Brougham inferred, from extensive enquiries, that Vaud, with its capital Lausanne, containing nearly 200,000 inhabitants, was one of the best educated districts in Europe. One-seventh of the population was in the different seminaries. Fellenberg has not thought, without rousing his countrymen. When we consider the period in which he begun to move, the originality of his conceptions, his defiance of inexpugnable prejudices, his perseverance in plans so much in advance of his times,

—we cannot withhold from him the highest praise. Such men are as day-stars, breaking the night and hastening the dawn. At Hofwyl there are 6000 students. Pestalozzi, perhaps a bold thinker, has created a centre of extraordinary power in Yverdun. Bavaria is worthy of high mention, as having emerged from the lowest condition of ignorance and moral corruption in a very few years: and by the strength of its educational organization, it is lifting no unworthy brow among surrounding nations. It has reached the eighth of its people in the number of its scholastic youth. The arts seem to form here a home. Hall after hall is dedicated to them. That noble Temple, the Valhalla, is but adorned with the images of the Teutonic Great,—the poet, the warrior, the artist, the sage: the education of a people so long debased, deserves a nobler monument, or, rather, already obtains it, not in fane and pillar, but in one whose perpetuity is lasting as that nation, and whose foundation is broad as that land. Who could have thought, a quarter of a century ago, that, on the banks of the Iser, there should enshrine itself the genius of æsthetic beauty, and that there, too, should enthrone itself the spirit of the Faderland?

But of all countries, Austria, as exceedingly maligned, deserves the fullest justice. A foolish speech of its emperor, Francis, is too well remembered,—"I want not philosophers, but good subjects:" his virtues and his deeds of quiet usefulness are little recalled.

"The evil that men do lives after them;
The good is oft interred with their bones."*

This powerful State preceded almost the whole of Europe in teaching the people. But its position was long stationary. It educated about three out of twenty. It has retrieved itself. More than 1,500,000 are in tuition. There are better proportions in some parts of the empire. In the Tyrol, 99,463 young mountaineers are taught out of 105,260. In Moravia and Silesia, the amount is 230,563 out of 250,749. Besides 1500 schools of industry, and 8000 supplemental schools in Hungary, there are 13,000 schools, lower and superior, in the empire, or one school to every two hundred and seventy-five families.

The provision of education for the city and canton of Geneva, is worthy of notice. It is most religiously free. It is all but universal. The schools are partly at the charge of the State, and partly of the communes. The departments of secular and theological training are distinct. The former is placed under the direction of a council. Its establishments are general, auxiliary, and special. The general establishments are the academy, the colleges, and the primary schools. The academy resembles our universities, with its chairs of divinity, law, science, and literature. The course of study is four years in the first, but four years must be previously spent in philosophical and mental studies.

* Shakspeare. Julius Cæsar.

The whole includes thirty-two professors. The next is the college, resembling our higher grammar schools. This reckons a principal and sixteen teachers. The primary schools are very multiplied. The interest of the commonwealth is given to the entire system. But the college seems to be the favourite. Every pageant is accorded to its examinations. The civil and military authorities enter the processions, and aid the distribution, of the prizes. The day is the gala of the year. Yet the sums given to the Faculties are mean. The numbers which attend them are not numerous. In the Divinity Hall of the academy, there are not generally more than eighteen students. Upon all its Institutes, the attendance does not attain to two hundred. The college may comprehend rather more than three hundred pupils. The machinery is immense for the number taught.

The cause of European education, at least, is secure. The petty State, which hates the light, bars itself against that beam in vain. Rampant tyranny and cowled bigotry offer a fruitless resistance. There is a security for it which no convulsion can sweep away. But were school, board, cabinet, to perish, the knowledge which they have communicated has entered living mind, taken fast hold of public opinion, and is an imperishable thing. It would be easier to unwind the Alp from its root, or to stifle Danube in its sources, than to overthrow the mighty work which has been founded, or to stem the vast intellectual and

moral influence which has gone forth upon the spirit of the nations!

All these great educatory engines are national, legislative, and, with scarcely an exception, compulsory. They are accomplishing great results: in another part of these enquiries it may be our duty to decide whether these features ought to characterise popular education, and whether these external succours do not retard and vitiate it.

But there is another scene which invites our attention in these enquiries,—a New World unfolds itself to our view. Where, a few ages since, the wild Indian only reared his wattled wigwam and where his war-whoop rang, beneath the shadow of forests, old as the world,—where civilization had not set its foot,—where a book had been never seen,—where the white man was utterly unknown,—Europe has settled millions of its children in noble towns and cities. A mighty country has been reclaimed: as mighty a nation has been consolidated. Great are the physical outlines of that land. A majesty is in all its proportions. The people is growing up to them and drawing in their spirit. Its noblest colonization begun in martyrdom. The pilgrim-fathers fled not thither from immediate persecution,—for Holland had given them refuge and home, offering hospitality to their poor, and reward to their learned,—but they embarked in calm and courage for conscience sake. "For His name's sake they went forth." They sought the desert,

that their liberty might be no more hampered and that their benevolence might be no more restrained. Here they found a scale and range worthy of the Puritan soul, and the exiles of New England earnestly commenced the purpose of their mission,—the salvation of the aborigines and the settlers. Their first effort was to establish the means of education. The example has been emulated. State vies with state. The Old have legislated to secure it,—and the Federal Government receives no New one without providing for it.

The last census of the State of New York, that of 1840, gives the population at 2,428,921.* The school funds consist of endowments, grants, and appropriations, from the state and individuals, and amount to 10,500,000 dollars, which, by the law, are declared inviolable. Commissioners of the common schools are elected annually by the people in the several towns. The towns are divided into school districts by these commissioners. The trustees of the schools are chosen by the inhabitants of these districts. These must undertake the erection or the maintenance of a schoolhouse in each district, out of a tax which they levy on the inhabitants, according to the vote of a yearly meeting thereof. The qualifications of the teachers must be approved by inspectors, independent of the teachers, but, like them, the choice of the people still. The contribution, by impost, in each district, must

* United States Almanac, or Complete Ephemeris. 1843.

equal that which is apportioned to it out of the public funds. Every pecuniary deficiency is supplied by tuition-fees upon those parents and guardians who are of sufficient ability. The poor are released from all such charge. The school is, in no instance, to be open less than four months in each year. The visitors and examiners of the schools are the inspectors and a deputy superintendent for the county. In him the more popular power of the system ceases, for he is appointed by the supervisors. These are responsible to the Secretary of State, who is superintendent of all the schools. To him are made the annual returns of all. Schools are maintained, wherever necessary, for the children of African descent. Normal schools are grafted on the most flourishing institutions, for the training of public teachers of both sexes. It is likewise required that a periodical journal be distributed to each school, a work extensively devoted to education, and not of a sectarian or party character, containing the laws of the States, — the scholastic regulations enforced by the superintendent, — his decision upon questions affecting the organization, administration, and government, of these schools,—and a comprehensive report, by the superintendent, to the legislature of their condition throughout the state. The whole number of districts is 10,886, in which schools are carried on during the average period of eight months in the year. The amount of children educated is 603,583. This, if correct, will show that the number

of children is very nearly as four upon the whole inhabitants of New York state, — a higher computation than we can find in Europe.* The teachers received last year 1,043,000 dollars.

The principle of American education seems to be this. Each State requires that there shall be an organization of schools proportioned to the inhabitants of any region. In the New England states, this is about a school to two hundred souls. For this there are generally certain funds from bequest, and original votes of land or money by the legislature. Connecticut, in a commutation with the General Government of certain ancient tenures, received 2,000,000 of dollars which were nobly applied to its education fund. It is believed that this state alone dispenses with any assessment. Whenever public support is enforced, it is self-taxation. The character of the school, and its kind of tuition, greatly depend on the will of the subscribers. According to the circumstances of the children, their entrance is perfectly gratuitous, or slightly charged. It seems also an invariable rule, from which Connecticut is not shut out, that the schools must be built by the people; whatever public grant is made must go strictly to the conduct of the school.

A few other States of the Union may be also reviewed as to their encouragement of education. There are diversities, but among them will be found substantive agreement.

* Natural History of New York.

When Maine became independent, a law was passed requiring every town to raise annually, for the support of the schools, a sum equal to forty cents for every person, to be distributed among the school districts, in proportion to the number of inhabitants in each. Its permanent school fund is 17,526 dollars. The present amount of scholars is reckoned at 140,000. But then the boy-schools are open but two months, and the girls', but ten weeks. Otherwise it would be a gratifying result. For, as the population in 1843 was but 501,793,—and these statistics, at least, go as far back as the year 1840—(which interval has doubtless greatly increased them)—it would leave more than four of the total in a course of instruction. The writer from whom this statement is taken adds, that if one dollar and six cents, instead of forty cents, were levied on every inhabitant, the schools might be in activity all the year, and he believes the tax would not be regarded as a grievance.*

The government of New Hampshire has, by law, a vote of one half per cent. per annum on the capital stock of banks, which is appropriated for the free schools. It has no other independent resource. Vermont possesses, also, its literary fund,—a lien of six per cent. on the profits of the banks.

Massachusetts is generally considered a centre of light. It abounds in all liberal institutions. It is the eye of the States. We learn from different collations,†

* Book of the United States. † Ibid.

that in a hundred and one towns, or districts of four miles square, 12,393 pupils attend private schools. The private schools of Boston are of the highest character; yet is it acknowledged that in none of them can young men be more thoroughly instructed and prepared for the universities, than in its public schools, and no where better fitted for business life, than in its high schools. Salem, in Essex County, Lowell and Charlestown, in Middlesex County, are deserving of the highest praise. Their exertions have been surprisingly great. In all these towns, the whole number of persons, between the ages of twenty-one and forty-four, who cannot read and write, is only fifty-eight. In one considerable town, there are but three, of the abovementioned age, who cannot read and write; and these three are deaf and dumb. The primary schools of the whole state are 3362. The number of pupils in them is 160,257.

We are indebted for the following document to the Honourable Horace Mann, Secretary to the Massachusetts Board of Education, who was sufficiently kind to attend to certain questions which were addressed to him, a gentleman whose heart and soul are in the cause:—

"The following is a general outline of our school system, and of its administration.

"The law requires every town to maintain a school in which reading, writing, English grammar, geography, and arithmetic, shall be taught, for a longer or

shorter time, according to the number of its inhabitants: when the population exceeds a certain number, a school must be kept in which higher branches are taught. But this law is a dead letter, as every town voluntarily raises money by tax, to keep a longer school than the law requires. The money is raised by a vote of the majority of artizans in town meeting, every man who pays even the smallest tax having a right to vote. To those schools supported by the town, every child has a right to go, without fee or payment of any kind.

"At the beginning of each school year, the State Board of Education send out a blank form of register to each public school in the state, on which each teacher is obliged to enter a great variety of statistical facts, in relation to his school. At the end of the year, these registers, now filled, are passed into the hands of the school committee of the town. At this time also, the Board of Education send to each school committee in the Commonwealth, a blank form of return: on this form the respective committees condense and collate all the facts contained in the school register, which they now have from the school teachers. They also answer all questions, which the Board see fit to propound, in the blank form of return. Having filled this last form, they return it to the Board. The school committee are also required by law to make a written report to the town at the end of their official year.

"In this report, they detail the errors or defects of the schools, and suggest plans for their improvement. A copy of this report is also transmitted to the Board of Education. From the returns and reports, the secretary of the Board prepares a volume, called the 'Abstract of the School Returns.' This 'Abstract' contains all the statistics of the schools for the year. It also contains selections from the committee's reports, thus prepared and printed. Several copies are sent back to each town in the state, (more or less, according to the inhabitants in the town,) so that each town and each school committee are requited for what they have contributed, receiving back the hints, advice, or suggestions, of all the other towns in the Commonwealth.

"In addition to the above, the secretary of the Board visits different parts of the State, as much as is practicable,—reads all the reports of the committees, —corresponds with the friends of education, and, at the end of each year, makes an annual report. This is printed by the legislature, and is sent to every school in the state.

"These are the means by which we endeavour to excite the public mind to a sense of the importance of education. For some years past, the towns in this State (whose whole population is less than 740,000) have raised, by voluntary taxation of themselves, more than £100,000. This is for the items only of teachers' wages, board, and fuel for the schools. In the

five years following the organization of the Board, the amount expended on the single item of school-houses in the state, building and making permanent repairs, was £130,000. Boston, with a population of 90,000, according to the last census, has, for several years past, raised, by taxes for schools, more than £30,000. *annually.*

"We have three normal schools for the education of teachers. These have been established between four and five years, and are doing well. Teaching is not generally a profession here, but is becoming more and more so."

Pennsylvania makes education the right of every citizen. The Girard fund might educate the entire state; but it is so trameled by infidel prejudice and persecution, that its munificence is rendered almost unavailing.

Delaware, happy in its absence of debt, and in its surplus of 500,000 dollars, regards education as a sacred trust, which its preemption enables it to execute most diligently; but still it requires contributions equal to any grant from its fund.

Virginia, having been a creditor of the General Government, by reason of advances made to it during the war, in 1816 devoted a considerable part of the repayment to its Literary Fund. The House of Delegates then ordered the directors of that fund to divide each county into townships, and the whole state into districts, that there might be a primary school in each

township, an academy in each district, and a university for the whole state. But the senate threw some obstacles in the way. The indomitable spirit of Jefferson secured the last: and to it the legislature now devotes 15,000 dollars a year. But the other branches of the original plan are far from being completed.* Already there are 1561 primary schools and 35,331 scholars.

Through most of the States of America, where education is fostered, academies are established which are sanctioned by incorporation. These institutions are generally guaranteed by those at whose instance that act was obtained. They bear an intermediate character between the School and the University.

The infant mind is assiduously cultivated, and in no country is there such an abundant supply of books calculated to engage early attention and form the habit of early thought.

The manner of raising the revenue for the support of the schools seems various. Sometimes it is in the form of a direct capitation tax under government collection: sometimes it is of a more local levy. Where there is no literary fund, it would appear that it is often doubly paid, first to the general exchequer of the state from which grants are issued, and secondly towards the district disbursement.

The States which, in our prejudice, have been condemned as grossly ignorant we shall find, upon the

* Tucker's Life of Jefferson.

most approved evidence, to be undeserving of this blame. A few may pass in review before us. Alabama is divided into two great districts. The population of both is 590,756. In the Northern District there is a university with 90 students; to which must be added 28 academies and grammar schools with 1055 scholars; 260 primary and common schools with 7544 pupils. To show the influence of proper parental motive, only 1993 of these pupils are at the public charge. In the Southern District there may be numbered a university with 62 scholars; 86 academies and grammar schools with 3953 scholars; 371 primary and common schools with 8599 pupils, — of these 1220 are alone at public cost. Yet the number of white persons, over twenty years of age, who can neither read nor write, is 22,592. — We will now cast our attention on Louisiana, divided into its eastern and western districts. Its population is 352,411. It has 12 universities or colleges and 989 students: 50 grammar schools and academies with 1995 scholars: 179 primary and common schools with 3573 pupils, of whom 1190 are publicly supported. The number of those who are above twenty years of age, and who can neither read nor write, is 4861. — The population of Tennessee is 829,210. It possesses 8 universities and colleges and 94 alumni; 152 academies and 5539 scholars; 983 primary schools and 25,090 pupils, — of whom 6907 are educated by the state. But its number of whites past twenty years who can neither

read nor write, is 58,531.—Kentucky claims a population of 779,828. Its colleges or universities are 10 with 1119 students: its grammar schools are 116 with 4906 scholars; its primary schools are 952 with 24,641 pupils. Only 429 are at the expense of the state. Still 40,018 whites, above twenty years of age, are without any education.—Ohio is a most populous district, comprehending 1,519,467 souls. It includes 18 colleges with 1717 members; 73 academies with 4310 scholars; 5186 common schools with 218,609 pupils; of these 51,812 depend upon the public revenue. Those who can neither read nor write, being more than twenty years old, are 35,394.—Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, and even Arkansas, are all urging forward in the career. And where the free coloured population is so widely dispersed, and the slave is so generally extant, may we not confidently hope that education will be a principal means of breaking invidious caste and cruel oppression? Before the holy light shall not this injustice be scared away?*

It must not be imagined that the Religious Communities of this great people are indifferent spectators of what is going on. The Presbyterian Church in the

* Besides the Works before cited, reference has been made constantly to the most unimpeachable documentary evidence in the Sixth Census or Enumeration of the Inhabitants of the United States, as corrected at the Department of State in 1840 : published by authority of an Act of Congress, under the Direction of the Secretary of State. Washington : Blair and Rives.

United States, during 1840, gathered for the purposes of Education 22,435 dollars.*

In the arrangements of Education among the New States, the Federal Government has acted with perfect faith and zealous regard to this most important cause. No territory can be received into the Union without a formal partition of certain lands on behalf of schools. The method is the following. Each township is six miles square, and is surveyed into sections of one mile square. This gives a plot of thirty-six sections. The sixteenth is "donated" by Congress for the support of common schools. This is as nearly central as the subdivision will allow. It is then sold, the proceeds are invested, and the interest is annually applied towards the expenses of all the schools which that area may contain. But no part of the section can be sold to obtain a building: this must be raised by the people. The sectional fund can only be devoted to salary, fuel, and current expense of administration. The people are not compelled to take part in the business. It may be that the section cannot find a purchaser. But if they do agree to undertake it, and decide to choose trustees, then the trustees may compel payment of every cost which the schools incur. That the allotted portion should not find a buyer, is very improbable. It is so placed that it is a most desirable property. The outer lines of the large quadrangle may front to an unpeopled wild. Trade must be chiefly within the included

* Minutes of the Presbyterian Church. 1841.

squares. It is not likely that such an allocation will long remain unsought. The enumeration of the sections is from the north-east corner of the Map, or from our right hand, recommencing at the left.

6	5	4	3	2	1
7	8	9	10	11	12
18	17	FOR 16 SCHOOL.	15	14	13
19	20	21	22	23	24
30	29	28	27	26	25
31	32	33	34	35	36

In such a Country, Education finds a boundless field. America is young in its people, its soil, its government. It has no history, and scarcely annals. It counts days rather than centuries. A mighty experiment is acted there. It might need a rein for its tossing neck and impatient foot, to guide it to the goal. The bark, launched on such a sea of rocks and breakers, demands a powerful helm. The people are the power, the rule, the life, of all: Senatus Populusque. None could ever so require to be taught. Education is the star of their hope and their guidance. That star is fixed. As the school-house rises amidst the landscape of New England, on the far shores of Missouri and Missisippi, and at the very base of the Rocky Mountains, — there is the emphatic pawn, which that

great Republic gives to an attentive world, of enlightened freedom, extending civilization, and pure religion. When America and Britain, so essentially one, contend, it is not War but Sedition.

The United States, whether always on the best principles or not, have begun the work of Education in right earnest. Between them and our Country there are many marked distinctions in the manner of undertaking it. It has seized a far more powerful hold upon their public mind. Their action is far more ramified and commanding. A much stronger, and a far more living, power is infused into the administrations. More individual votaries, more noble enthusiasts, are at work. We take it up as a necessity, slowly felt and heavily imposed: they cherish it as a passion and explore it as a science. It is every one's delight. The statesman will not descant on suffrage but with this guidance: the œconomist will not treat of barter but with this check: the patriot will not appeal to liberty but with this inspiration. On our side of the Atlantic there are none of those scorching fulminations hurled at country, state, people, with which their orators "flame amazement." They scoff, they satirise, they taunt, they jeer, the mass of ignorance among them. They declare from on high that there are nearly 2,000,000 children in the Union untaught. They avail themselves of inauguration, festivity, holyday, when spirits can little brook reproof, to cast the charge into the nation's teeth. Tribune and pulpit lend their utmost power to the object.

Nothing will they accept,—no bond, no handsel,—but universal education. There is a fervour in their language, and a dauntlessness in their bearing, bespeaking the generosity of their ambition, and worthy the majesty of their cause. With their 173 colleges and 16,233 students,—their 3242 academies with their 164,159 scholars,—their 47,209 primary schools with their 1,845,264 pupils, they wield a mighty, though insufficient, apparatus. Hail Columbia! Thy star-emblazoned flag waves over no empty, barren, freedom! From the rampart of olden institutions, of which we are neither wearied nor ashamed, we can gratefully honour thee, O banner! never to be mocked,—but most we honour thee, in thy peaceful folds! We quarrel not with the liberty which thou dost assert, nor with the resistance which thou didst rally! Thine was a righteous quarrel! Be thou ever ensign of the wise, the the good, the free!

"Quis genus Æneadum, quis Trojæ nesciat urbem?
Virtutesque, virosque, et tanti incendia belli?
Non obtusa adeo gestamus pectora,—"*

It is a pleasing thought that the Education of the world is not quite neglected. Our Missionary Societies gather, daily, hundreds of thousands of children

"Who can be ignorant of the Ænean race and their city of Troy? Of their valour, their heroes, and the provocations of their noble resistance? We carry not in our bosom hearts quite so unexcitable as such ignorance would suppose."—Virg: Æneid: lib. i. 571, &c.

beneath their care. The Missionary is the School-master wherever he sets his foot. He runs to and fro, and knowledge is increased. Nor is every heathen nation ignorant and rude. China welcomes our labours with its three hundred millions of people, half of whom at least can read.* The machinery of learning is well established, its thinking classes are divided into four literary orders, and not a man can rise to any office of dignity and trust but as he abides the most searching and prolonged examination into his educated fitness. This is not simply a lovely theory or a bare possibility: it is the unvarying practice.

* Medhurst's China.

CHAPTER VIII.

ON THE STATISTICS OF DOMESTIC EDUCATION.

It is very necessary that, in our endeavour to estimate the condition of our population as to the means of culture and improvement, we should adopt proper rules for enquiring into its sections and proportions. In the absence of sound information, and in the neglect of rigid proof, we may soon bewilder ourselves,—as the slightest deviation from a right line leads to every divergence.

The common computation gives us, on an average, the one-fourth of our population as children between five and fifteen years of age. About one-fourth part of the population of the American United States is between the ages of four and sixteen. In Massachusetts it is so, almost without a fraction. Says the eloquent Horace Mann, in his Oration before the Authorities of the City of Boston, July 4th, 1842,—"Although there may be slight variations from this ratio in other States, yet undoubtedly the number *four* is an integer, by far nearer than any other that could be taken, which, when compared with unity or one, would show the ratio between the whole population, and the number

of children within them, between the ages of four and sixteen years." The variation is not sufficiently great between the Old and the New Country to affect the argument. But this cannot be the general period for education among the industrious classes. The latter age is too late, and the former is not sufficiently early. The youth, who is fifteen years old, is wanted for labour, and long before. The child of five ought to have been under instruction at least two years before. From three to thirteen years the amount is a little greater than from five to fifteen, and it somewhat exceeds the fourth. But that fourth, though of the educable age, cannot be seen in the general teaching institutions of any country, much less in schools of a partly gratuitous character. It includes not only the offspring of the poor, but likewise of the wealthy and middle orders.

The common computation of statesmen, in their schemes of legislated instruction, has given the eighth of the population as the proper figure for its scope. This, doubtless, anticipates the absorption of many present schools in such a national system. It would seem that it must supersede almost all of a humbler character.

Perfect estimates are not to be obtained. The following are founded upon the best documentary evidence. Parliament has stamped its sanction upon it. It comes to us in the shape of its corrected and authorised reports.

The horrors of the last war being terminated, our struggle for existence as well as place among the nations being crowned with victory, the Imperial Senate was summoned to a new course of investigation. A champion of right and liberty,—profoundly versed in the great question of education, illuminating it with a potent eloquence, rose among his fellows, the advocate of the poor and the scorpion scourge of their oppressors.* He flashed conviction, at least he invoked vengeance, on those who had not only neglected the instruction of the labouring ranks, but embezzled the revenues devoted to it. Malversation could not be more flagrant. The business of the orator was, however, the general education of the people. From 1816 to 1819 a committee sat of which he was chairman. Out of their respective Reports we gather the facts which we now exhibit, public schools being the only subjects of the enquiry. There were 4167 endowed schools. Of unendowed schools there were 14,282. Sunday schools were rated, with manifest injustice, at 5162. The amount of children supposed at that time to be educated in England, was said to be 644,282. Of these 166,000 were at endowed schools, and at the unendowed 478,282. Though the population of England and Wales in 1821 was not quite 12,000,000, here is a discouraging deficiency. But we may now pass from 1821 to 1835. We find the same zealous apologist for education pursuing his cherished theme

* Henry Brougham, Esq., now Lord Brougham.

in a higher assembly. He speaks now as a peer of the realm. According to papers which he produced, he showed, that in ten years the number of children in unendowed schools had considerably more than doubled. The Returns made to the Commons, on the motion of Lord Kerry, showed that this estimate, framed upon a partial account from certain parishes, was borne out by all the parishes of thirty-three counties, from Bedfordshire to Suffolk, alphabetically, inclusive. The list comprehended Lancashire and Middlesex, those densely peopled districts: but the whole consisted of 10,110,000 souls. The result was, that instead of the 478,282 attending the unendowed schools, the scholars had increased to 1,144,000, and the number of schools from a little more than 14,000 to 31,000. The children of the endowed schools were then about 150,000. There was every presumptive proof that all other parts of the kingdom corresponded. Here was good augury. The youth under instruction amounted to 1,300,000. It was as one-eleventh to the population. But that population increased much faster than the means of instruction. It is now at 18,526,925. The consequence, it is to be feared, is an increased disparity. The evil is aggravated, in consequence of the partial distribution of the means. The quantity may be favourable to one portion of the country, and most disastrous for another. There is no general balance. It may be in different districts as one in ten, or one in forty. It is, therefore, manifest, that if not in respect

of the whole, yet, in many parts, of the proper means there is deplorable destitution.

It is a subject of debate, Whether the provisions of education are more ample in municipal, or in rural, districts? The data are very limited and insufficient. It need not have been inflamed with any party animosity. But the needless assaults made upon the character of the manufacturing districts has awakened a reprisal of argument, and, perhaps, of invective, very prejudicial to cool discussion. We would endeavour to poise the scales. We seek but even-handed award.

Now there are towns and cities which cannot be called manufacturing. They are ports, and either higher or lower capitals. Bristol and Westminster and York, may be adduced for examples.—In the first there are 512 day and evening schools, and 86 Sunday schools, making a total of 598 schools. The number of scholas is 21,865. The population is 130,000. This but returns seventeen per cent. of the inhabitants as under instruction. But in some of its suburbs, it is not as four to the hundred.—Westminster is a royal, a legislative, an ecclesiastical, a martial, metropolis. There sleeps the dust of our most illustrious dead. There are all the great Officers of State and Departments of Government. In five of its most extensive parishes, daily instruction, including that which is most inferior and perfunctory down to the common dame-schools, is only given to about one in fourteen. In the largest parishes of London, such as Spitalfields, (which, how-

ever, is the scene of a manufacture,) Wapping, Whitechapel, Newington Butts, Bermondsey, only one child in twenty-seven is taught.—York is a seat of considerable influence, of much refinement, of great religious privilege, though its mural glories have waned. Philanthropy is active there, and the religious feeling strong. Yet the education of its youth is but as one to twenty of its citizens.*

Let us turn, after this rapid survey of such great abodes of the oppidan population, to the vast theatres of skilled and artistic labour. A huge obloquy rests upon them. The number of inhabitants in Manchester and Salford is 353,390. The total of children taught there is 28,553. The proportion is more than one to twelve of those inhabitants. Leeds, borough and parish, contains 152,054 souls. Its learners are 15,155. This is almost a tenth of the whole. And yet has it been said that the ratio was one in forty-two! Mr. Edward Baines, a native of that town,—a gentleman of most Christian character, of the highest intellect, of spotless integrity,—has, with pains-taking and research above all praise, collected facts and arranged tables on Educational Statistics, which already have acquired the authority of a standard.† They are a noble and dispassionate vindication of a people traduced beyond

* See Publications of the Central Society of Education, and the Bristol Statistical Society.

† "The Social, Educational, and Religious State of the Manufacturing Districts," &c., by Edward Baines, Jun., Esq.

measure and example. The most perfect specimens of industry, of enduring patience, of strict order, — sufferers to a heroic dint, disciples of most self-denying truth, enthusiasts of hope in each convulsion of traffic and extremity of want, the men of clear spirit and stout heart, — the humble patriots, true to their country, whose principles gold has been tried in vain to debauch, — servants loyal and devoted, but who cannot be made slaves, — it sickens us to think how they have been reviled! Look at the education among them, in comparison with the proud cities of the land! Not among them are the idle, the venal, the obsequious, the vassal, and there is the offence! They will not be yoked to the chariot of courtly oppression, nor can they be dragged at its wheels, and that is their crime! They are full of thoughts, — they raise enquiries, they demand reasons, and hence their reproach! They will be persuaded in their own minds, and it is charged as their contumacy! A large district was searched for the proper information. It was constituted of the manufacturing counties of Derby, Lancaster, Chester, and York. It included 2,208,771 persons. The returns, which were carefully sifted, are as follows: One, in every ten, of the population is found in day schools: one, in every five two-fifths, is enrolled in Sabbath schools. And these were the returns made in times, and collected from scenes, of unprecedented distress. The state of clothing always forms a most important condition of attendance. Also, much of this education

is paid for by the poor themselves, who have for these four years obtained, with difficulty, and greatly through charity, a bare subsistence. No expense is sooner curtailed in affluent families, in seasons of pressure which must be felt by all, than that required in the tuition of children. We might expect that among the poor, the reduction would be very great. And yet how much smaller is it than we might have supposed that it must prove! Is not this a most gratifying census!

We may now survey the agrestian population. The very term, we have already found, was used by the Latins in the sense of the rude. Rusticus was a sort of correlate. Paganus meant simply a villager; but as villages were less likely to receive knowledge than towns, it became a word to denote ignorance; and as towns received Christianity before the villages, those who remained idolaters were called Pagans. There is no argument in the variations of such etymologies against this class. Its moods of mind, its means of information, may have entirely changed. Many arguments are inapposite. Taking, for instance, crime as the general accompaniment, if not the fruit, of ignorance, we might look to the commitments from different manufacturing and agricultural counties. During the last seven years these have greatly increased. Now were we told that they had doubled in Yorkshire and Lancashire, — though two Ridings of the one, and though the higher sides and acute angle opposite the base of the other, are really agricultural,—it would lie

as the probable charge against the evil influence of the manufacturing system. But the same holds true, —the commitments have, during this period of seven years, doubled,—in Rutland and Westmoreland. Such contrary evidence is not, therefore, availing on either side. Yet, as it applies to Cheshire, Staffordshire, and Shropshire, as well as to Monmouth, which, as a great mining county, points another way, it is clear that it might be given a preponderance.

There is, notwithstanding, proof of greater demoralization in the agricultural districts. The number of illegitimate children in 1839, 1840, 1841, was double in Norfolk of those of the West Riding of Yorkshire: they were very nearly double in Herefordshire of those of Lancashire. This is peculiarly the sign and test of low gross ignorance: and he who would make light of it, by appealing to the licentiousness of other ranks of life, fails to understand,—that, in the humbler classes, this vice can scarcely obtain very widely among the scattered population, in which homestead virtues were once supposed to find their favourite abode, without a weight of prevailing ignorance that destroys the honour of intercourse and the sense of shame.

It is no wish on our part to disparage any labouring class. We would be the champion of all. We seek the good of all. But when certain criminations are made of one, when at its expense every other is flattered, it becomes a question of truth; and until it be determined, no healing measure can be applied. There

is a volume which is entitled "Reports of Special Poor Law Commissioners on the Employment of Women and Children in Agriculture." It abounds with disgusting facts. Lord Ashley and Sir James Graham cannot have read it, though sitting in the Parliament to which it is addressed, One Reverend and beneficed Clergyman, the Rev. T. A. Maberley, of Cuckfield, Sussex, represents the farmers as opposed to the education of the young: he says, that he "remarks a particular deficiency in the feelings of the women as to chastity: in many instances, they seem hardly to comprehend or value it as a virtue." P. 201. Mr. Gee, of Brothertoft, near Boston, in Lincolnshire, says, "Field-work is a very bad thing for girls: forty-nine out of the fifty are seduced by it." P. 252. These pictures may be overcharged; these numbers may be exaggerated. We own ourselves incredulous. But for incomparably less flagrant corruptions, for corruptions incomparably less confirmed, have millions been denounced. Why should not the descriptions of both the forms of labouring life be considered as the exception rather than the rule?

The inhabitant of a manufacturing town has frequent proof of the intellectual difference between the rural, and the technic, labourer. In consequence of the higher wages and increased comforts of the town, many workmen are allured from the country. If they cannot acquire the art themselves, they may obtain some employment kindred to their own; the temptation is to provide for their children. They are seen,

side by side, with the native artizan. It is not invidious remark, it is overpowering fact, that they are very inferior in mental quickness and general knowledge. The great probability is that they are wholly uneducated. The contrast is almost in daily view. The question may be always arbitrated.

Innumerable examples are multiplied, throughout the breadth of our land, of the good which the more privileged classes love to do. Where is the estate of the nobleman on which abuts not the school, where is the school which he disdains to inspect, or in which his children shrink to take their part? Where is the clergyman who does not feel that his school is only less sacred than his altar? Yet this is precarious support. The system cannot overtake the range of the wide-spread population. But in our manufacturing resorts the foundation of instruction is more sure. Voluntary and generous as are those forms which we describe, it has a deeper hold. The intellectual pledge is in the community of minds. The employment and character of that population must cease when ingenuity finds nothing to sharpen it, and improvement nothing to extend it. Education, therefore, is more systematic and information more diffused.

A few of the agricultural counties may be surveyed in their population and in the number of their children under instruction. The date is the year 1836. The result is against the boasted superiority of these districts.

Cambridgeshire. Population, 143,955. Children, in Infant Schools, 704,—in Day, 14,565,—in Sabbath, 14,051.

Buckinghamshire. Population, 146,529. Children, in Infant Schools, 769,—in Day, 10,065,—in Sabbath, 20,728.

Dorsetshire. Population, 159,252. Children, in Infant Schools, 2201,—in Day, 15,957,—in Sabbath, 19,830.

Norfolk. Population, 390,054. Children, in Infant Schools, 2751,—in Day, 32,377,—in Sabbath, 30,420.

Oxfordshire. Population, 152,126. Children, in Infant Schools, 1381,—in Day, 14,558,—in Sabbath, 16,738.

Wiltshire. Population, 240,156. Children, in Infant Schools, 1684,—in Day, 18,691,—in Sabbath, 31,155.

Worcestershire. Population, 211,565. Children, in Infant Schools, 2335,—in Day, 15,523,—in Sabbath, 20,705.

The census of 1841 gives a large increase upon this population, which was taken in 1831. Twenty thousand may, on the average, be added, to that of each county. The ratio of education has not been equalised to this increase.

The extent of education in England and Wales can only be guessed. The Established Church plies a large parochial system, in every ramification of which

we might expect some attempt to instruct the young. Though this be general, we fear that it is far from universal. In the National Schools there are 590,000 children. The British and Foreign School Society, nobly standing aloof from all sectarianism, but as practically antagonised to all spurious latitude, cannot anticipate that numerical success which partizanship brings. Perhaps it reckons not the sixth of that amount which its rival, and later born, agency can boast. The Wesleyan community, that immense organization of zeal and influence, is only just putting forth its promised strength. It claims even now (1845), according to the returns made to the Conference held at Leeds, 332 Day Schools, with 30,686 scholars. Its Sabbath Schools are 4013, with 417,903 scholars. True to itself, the educatory effort of this community lives in increase and progress. The Congregationalist and the Antipædobaptist Denominations may safely reckon their Sabbath Schools by their churches, many of both sustaining others in the hamlets of their neighbourhood. Their Home Mission Reports would show that religious education is the favourite object of their labour, and the rigid criterion of their success. In the manufacturing district aforesaid the efforts of these bodies have been greatly extended. The Sabbath Schools of the former comprehend 57,308 scholars taught by 9014 teachers; and though the other includes far fewer churches, and perhaps less wealth, it exists not without an equal energy and a proportionate result.

The English counties widely differ from each other in their civilization and knowledge. Though their pursuits be the same, the natives do not seem of the same race. Something of the old national character which belonged to those counties, or junctions of counties, seems unobliterated. In Dorsetshire and Wiltshire are the strongholds of ignorance. The peasantry is in a state of rapid and grievous deterioration. In Northumberland there are few who are not able to read. The Sabbath school in that fine county seldom reckons any children who have to learn this humble attainment. It is generally held as a Bible class. Yet will it not be found a question of geographical degrees. There is some truth in the doctrine of races. But why is Cornwall so intelligent, but by its means of religious education? Why is Kent so lost in ignorance, but for that very want?

The system of Scottish Instruction has found both hearty defenders and opponents. It is strictly parochial. Its schools are 1052 in number. To these may be added 184 which are Burghal, that is, belong to Royal Burghs. With the Parliamentary Churches in the Highlands there are associated 42 more. These give the amount of 1278. The Statute strangely limits a single school to a parish. The ground of objection to these schools has appeared to us, very mainly, a dislike of their religious and catechetical character. But while these features are reasons with us for admiring them, we fear that their boasted efficiency is ill-proved.

The literary quality is poor. Many of them are ambulatory, and in the thinly-peopled parts are held only during four or five months in farm houses. Among coasts so wild, in regions intersected with loch and frith, stretching into headland, broken into islet, serious disadvantages must be felt. These, in all blame, should be allowed. But it is a mistake that the people are educated in these schools. Only one in thirty-eight was so trained, as recently as the year 1818. There is, subsequently to that date, a small increase of these schools. But they come too late. As national they have lost their influence. They were never gratuitous. Each child pays his fee. The endowed stipend would not yield the master the most meagre support. The General Assembly enquired into the state of Education in the year 1824. It was supposed that elementary training was within reach of all, save the inhabitants of the Highlands and Islands, and these amounted to about 50,000. In 1833 eighty-six additional schools were established in these destitute and dreary districts. But these were so inadequate, that only a thirteenth part was found to attend of those who needed instruction. Here, then, we have a national system of education, principally resting upon the subscriptions of the children. It is so far from meeting the case, that the highest Church Court interferes to extend it, not by legal assessments, but by popular collections. It is grown out of repute. How is it that the Scotch are, then, so well educated? Not by the instrumentality

we have considered. The *private schools are more than* 3000, and *three-fourths of the people are instructed in them;* at least, not in the national public schools. These private schools may be ridiculed: they may be called "Side" schools: but if worthless, Scotland would not foster them,—and if uninfluential, they could not be so multiplied and sustained. What a lesson is this upon the true *educational liberty!* What a spectacle of the certain defectibility of all institutions, which depend not upon the principle of self-government and the support of the people!

There is found in the Scotch schools very generally, even in those of different orders, a strong competitive practice. When a question is proposed, the class is expected to answer as quickly as possible. The pupil who feels that he is able to do so, darts forward, while his rivals, with eager looks and outstretched hands, are already at his side. The question is not put calmly to the first, and then to the second, and so onward to the last, but to all at once. Places are taken, tickets are given, and notices of the duxship are recorded. The effect is singular. All are intent. The organs of the teacher must be as quick as the gestures of the children. It is even a physical strain on all. All pant with emotion. It is a very struggle. The rush, the shout, but, above all, the impassioned physiognomy, furnish a curious exhibition. It may be doubted whether the extreme rapidity does not, in some instances at least, discourage the timid and hesitating mind: it

must stimulate, in no mean degree, the ambitious and the ready.*

It would be unjust to an honoured name, not to mention the Glasgow system; in its more novel features originated, and in its more common ones improved, by Mr. David Stow. Its modifications of older principles are greatly commended by experienced teachers, and by those who have looked much into the minds of the poor. The elliptical practice is remarkable in it. It has become more important than at first it aspired to be: it is a normal school, to which many religious communities now send their future teachers. Another Institution, of a very different kind, is raised in St. Andrew's. It is the bequest of the Rev. Dr. Bell, the founder of the National Schools. He was a native of that venerable city. The academy is noble in structure, and its course of instruction is most liberal. The professors are very able and erudite. Though the Founder was a clergyman of the English Church, he has left the endowment quite unrestricted. If the Presbyterian influence be ascendant in it, it is not dictatorial nor exclusive. The author has never seen a school combining greater advantages, or administered on better principles. It answers to the manner of our chief

* When the eloquent Curran visited Scotland, he thus wrote to a friend :—"In this country, what a work have the four and twenty letters to show for themselves!—the natural enemies of vice, and folly, and slavery; the great sowers, but the still greater weeders, of the human soil."—Life of Curran, by his Son.

Proprietary College Schools. It stands amidst ruins, all of them awfully memorable,—the witnesses of noble martyrdom, the tombs of debasing superstition. How different the order of things it testifies! What new thoughts and hopes it proclaims!

Whatever may be the eccentricities and evils of Ireland, the contentedness of ignorance lies not upon its character. Its national mind is quick and susceptible. It craves for knowledge. Unrighteous laws long obstructed its development. Yet even when fine and imprisonment were enforced upon the Roman Catholic who kept a school, and when the Protestant Parochial school existed only in the perjury of those who had sworn to establish it, the poorer class sent their children to the hedge-school, a name of contempt for institutions in which the smatterings of knowledge could only be obtained. But now there is unrestricted freedom. The proselytising furor, which made the name of parties every thing, and which cared not what were its means and subjects, finds little favour in the eyes of the enlightened and sincere. The Hibernian Society, formed in London, 1806, gave a great impetus to the education which had long been legally restricted, or hypocritically pursued. The Kildare Place Society was productive of very enlarged good, and it may be doubted whether any better plan has been substituted. Still, if a national system were to be established, the very prejudices of the nation deserved to be consulted. Scripture extracts were preferred to the use of the whole volume. It then

appeared that this Society had done the same! But it denied itself. It misrepresented its own excellence. It bowed to a clamour, and hid its own just deeds. It had been too indulgent, also, to the Protestant parts of the country, where it was less needed, and too niggard to the more fanatical. It had allowed itself an undue and sectarian bias. It is this bane which seems to canker every promise of melioration to that injured land; and the Society of which we speak was not proof against it. But it did good service. In 1830, it could enumerate 1620 schools, and 132,573 scholars. We blame not the new Board,—not its institution, for it seemed to be demanded by powerful bodies,—not its directory, for that is beyond all praise. It has already more than 140,000 children under its charge. All difficulties considered, all competitions allowed, we cannot think that a more reproachless system, of a public kind, could be devised. The vice of both, is government money and government inspection. None are satisfied. All is thwarted. Equality is promised, and each complains of unfairness. A system is taken up by one cabinet and denounced by its successor. The life of a warm benevolence cannot beat in any scheme of State. It is a set of parchments and seals. It cannot be worked from the heart. Public treasure, made to pass in any channel but the direct disbursements of the commonwealth, "eats as doth a canker." It is a bribe,—not in the sordid sense,—but still a bride to partiality, recklessless, and sloth. The Irish Society of London for

Promoting the Education and Religious Instruction of the Native Irish, through the medium of their own language, has taken an interesting field. It enrols 16,975 pupils. Besides its youth, it teaches 13,048 male adults, and 2608 females. Educationally considered, the sister isle is not an ignorant country: we have spoken of externally sustained schools. In 1828, it was ascertained that there were 11,823 elementary schools. Of these, eight-elevenths were private, voluntary establishments, at which the pupils paid. They were entirely independent of parish, of society, of help; in every view, they were self-sustained. The number of scholars was, in the gross, 560,549; of whom 394,730 bore the cost of their own education,—nearly three times the amount of the Kildare Place Society's pupils. When all these and other more denominational acts are put into one sum, a superiority may be shown to Great Britain. The Shamrock triumphs over the Thistle and the Rose. Fourteen years since, the Writer heard a Resolution pass the Annual Meeting of the Sunday School Union of Ireland,—held in the Rotunda, Dublin,—which thanked the 15,000 teachers associated in it, and the Earl Roden, as one, acknowledged the vote. What a people would it be with the open Bible, and with the "open face" to read it! When will a holy calm succeed its upheavings of political excitement! When will its tender genius, loving its legend and its lore, cease to mourn the past, and paint its brighter visions of the future! Fair is thy verdure, Erin! but thou shalt yield

a fairer increase! Harp of thy wilds and halls! which erst was struck to strains of patriotism and liberty,—whose witch-notes still survive! thou shalt ring with nobler themes and swell into diviner harmonies! Like Judah's lyre, thou shalt be swept with the inspiration of the Saviour's love and glory! Like the harp of heaven, thou shalt breathe only the tones of an unearthly peace and love! And He who "taketh up the isles," and who spans his throne with a "rainbow in sight, like to an emerald," shall take thee, thou emerald gem of the ocean, and set thee in that girdle of his covenant faithfulness and love!

When Great Britain and Ireland shall have advanced in the knowledge of Scripture, and in the spirit of Christianity, those ranklings, which have long alienated them, shall be forgotten. Why should they not be one? Placed side by side, are they not ranged for love and alliance? How is it that they yield not mutual strength? Who can wish that either should be exalted to the depression of the other? Both must suffer together: both together only can rejoice. The true patriot should allow no rival claim.

> "Non ego, nec Teucris Italos parere jubebo,
> Nec mihi regna peto; paribus se legibus ambæ
> Invictæ gentes æterna, in fœdera mittant."*

* "I will not compel the Latins to obey the Trojans. I seek not for myself new dominions. My only desire is, that two such nations, both invincible, may be indissolubly united by equal laws, and trothed for ever in imperishable treaties."—Virg: Æneid: lib. xii. 189, &c.

It is an unpleasant part of the enquiry, to ask whether Conformists or Nonconformists have better done their duty. The Nonconformist was earlier in the task; the Conformist was indifferent or averse. The Nonconformist loved the object, and fully trusted in it: the Conformist was but faintly attached to it, and fearingly doubted its consequences. But then, in the nature of things, some of this difference in the views and feelings of the parties might be expected. The one was scattered, independent, self-ruled: the other was an immense corporation, not free, not self-determined. Novelty might be a temptation to the first: antiquity could scarcely but be the prejudice of the second. The stake of the former was small: that of the latter was serious and vital. But when both were actually engaged,—the emulation between them cannot be denied,—the disparity of means was speedily manifested. The buildings, the equipments, the revenues, of the Episcopalian schools were displayed in a proud preeminence. That Church took up its measures with a unity, a vigour, a success, which outstripped its forerunners and competitors. Its establishment gave those measures strength, its wealth facility, its discipline compactness. That which others were compelled to struggle in order to effect, it accomplished with a giant's ease. It still has the advantage of power and riches. None of those who may deny its right to be the instructress of the people, will complain of the influence which it has morally acquired, or grudge the ascendancy which it

has by its voluntary efforts won. Time was, when it was provoked to jealousy: it now quickens those who gave it the first impulse. We deem it, in the working of its schools, too exclusive in its terms of reception, too intolerant in its imposition of doctrine. But its system must be of certain benefit. It extends to spots which cannot be reached by more detached exertions. The Dissenters, confident in the rights and blessings of knowledge, have fallen behind their avowals. In the Sabbath Schools they are, indeed, among the foremost. In the Weekly Schools they are grievously defaulting. It is conceded, that much of their doings is concealed within the British and Foreign School Society, of which they have no recognised honour but are still the main support. But were they all in it, were it all theirs, it is not enough. They ought to contribute more than all its funds: they ought to centuple all its schools.

There is a spirit, however, arising, which, from whatever quarter it may show itself, we are ready always to condemn. It is an affected ignorance of the labours of others. It is the utter evasion of them. Does any man sincerely hope that the whole youthful generation can be brought into his church or community? Can he be bigoted enough to dream of such an absorption and comprehension? Has he any right, in fact or in equity, to speak of all besides as destitute of Christian education? No station, no talent, of such men, can make us believe this their oversight to be sincere, or this their zeal to be honest.

Better will it be that the contest of all parties should exist alone in a generous strife of out-doing each other. There is a scope for all. There is little occasion of self-exultation to any. When the country is subdued to knowledge and religion, it will be sufficient time to adjust our respective deserts and to grasp our proper honours.

"But rise, let us no more contend, nor blame
Each other, blamed enough elsewhere, but strive
In offices of love how we may lighten
Each other's burden in our share of woe."*

* Milton's Paradise Lost, Book x.

CHAPTER IX.

ON THE PARTIES RESPONSIBLE FOR THE EDUCATION OF THE PEOPLE.

It may be felt not a little mortifying, that a question like that which concerns the proper agency in popular education, should, in this period of the world, be open to discussion. It might have been expected, that the men of light and benevolence would have long since agreed. The truth, we should have thought, must, ere now, be ultimately fixed. It surely is capable of easy determination. Can our country be divided in opinion, after its frequent boasts of knowledge and freedom? Can it hesitate, when it affects a tender guardianship of all its natives, and sets its Penitentiaries in the ends of the earth? Can it speak of it as an unsettled point, standing as it does in a position so distinctly to be observed, arrayed as it is with an influence to be so powerfully felt, displaying, as it imagines, a pattern to be so worthily followed?

Great principles are not hastily approached. They require long probation and experiment, before they settle down into proof and experience. They are often left in doubt, because they are not wanted in application.

New circumstances arise, which direct men's attention to them. A crisis comes, and they can no longer remain in abeyance. At once they must be exposed and decided. The delay was not lost: the exigence was not precipitate. This is the common history of all important conclusions gained by the public mind. They drag along with scarcely any perceptible progress, through events which seem to have no affinity with them, and through ages which seem to have no care for them,—until they are established as under a flash of light, and with a directness of intuition. We are slow in mooting what has hitherto been assumed, and love not to disturb what has almost universally been granted.

Though the science of legislation was cultivated from the earliest ages, how little are its precise functions cleared and established! Few minds are settled, still fewer coincide. That which the interests of social man might have been expected to establish at once, still wavers in indetermination. Some would constitute it as a Ceremonial, to impose and to awe. Others would render it an Agency, to absorb all the business of life into itself. It is principally viewed by one party as a rule over mind and conscience: mainly is it regarded by a second, as a contrivance to release man from his wants, and from his exertions to supply them. The former hails the Monarch as the Vicegerent of heaven, as the Roman Emperors were the Pontifices Maximi: the latter vociferates, as did the mob of Paris, while they bore Louis the 16th from Versailles to his

capital, Boulanger, Boulanger! gracing his office with a procession of loaves.

The time has arrived when we must needs ask, To whom is the education of the people committed? This question has been adjudicated, in the estimate of many, beyond any *righteous* reversal: others think that, until now, the evidence was never completely sifted, nor the understandings of men prepared to pronounce upon it. That there is difficulty in it, might be suspected, from the confident tone in which the contending parties speak: neither will allow the possibility of each other's conclusion. But difficulty of this kind has often been overcome, and the clear accents of truth have presently been heard overpowering the controversy.

There is one constitution of responsibility which is original. It must plead precedence to every other. It is a law the most fixed and certain. He who decreed that the species should spring constantly from itself, has ordained the parental authority as primary and invariable. To honour father and mother is the first commandment of the second table, first with promise, first in morality, first in influence. It cannot be abrogated nor superseded nor transferred. It is the root of all duties, and the pledge of all virtues. This is the true school. The parent's knee is the proper place of moral training. How beautiful is the sentence which Cicero indites concerning the early tuition of the Gracchi! "Legimus epistolas Corneliæ, matris Gracchorum: apparet filios non tam in *gremio educatos*, quam

in *sermone matris*."* It is, confessedly, a mysterious law, that the offspring should be so greatly affected for the most critical, and not the shortest, season, by the parent. That parent may be unprincipled. His influence may only be pernicious. But in reasoning on original constitutions of nature like this, we must often satisfy ourselves with general principles. Can any other arrangement be conceived, the rule of increase being given, which could provide for the helplessness of infant life and mind? Is any other to be imagined so naturally beautiful and fitting? "Be fruitful and multiply and replenish the earth," was the ordinance of Paradise and the blessedness of innocence. Sin has perverted our nature, but none of its original determinations and conditions are destroyed. That which could only have been designed for good, is now often perverted for evil. The iniquities of parents are visited upon the children. The sceptic observes, with ourselves, the same fact: it is a fact which must as greatly hamper his moral system as our own. The influence of the parent is, then, inevitable: if we can deduce the mind of the law-giver from the law, it is the Divine Decree. We may infer, from the benevolence of all those decrees, that, however there is incidental evil, (and need we wonder, when the transmission is of that

* "We ponder the letters of Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi: it would seem that those boys were brought up, not so much on the lap as on the sweet-voiced counsels of their mother."—Brutus, sive de Claris Oratoribus, 57.

which is *necessary!*) any transference of the care of offspring would be an evil essentially aggravated.

The possible mischief of this natural constitution has been considered by the philosopher and the statesman from ancient times. Many of these boldly urged the prior rights of the state. They maintained that the children were its issue and property. They insisted on its custody and regulation of them. The parents were set aside. Patriotism was supposed to absorb instinctive affections. Father gave up his son, and even mother her daughter. The sages and jurisconsults of antiquity not only seem absolute in these opinions; they have been followed by some modern writers of no mean repute. A few specimens of those older, and then of these more recent, thinkers, may be adduced.

The prototype of these opinions is seen in the Institutions of Sparta. In the biography of Lycurgus, by Plutarch, we find sentiments of this kind formally declared as those on which he acted. "He resolved the whole matter of legislation into the bringing up of youth."* "He regarded the education of youth as the first and most excellent duty of the law-giver."† "He considered children not so much the property of their parents as of the state."‡ "Parents were not at

* "Τον γαρ ολον και πασης νομοθεσιας εργον εις την παιδειαν ανηψε."

† "Της δε παιδειας ην μεγιστον ηγειτο του νομοθετου και καλλιστον εργον ειναι."

‡ "Ουκ ιδιους ηγειτο των πατερων τους παιδας αλλα κοινους της πολεως."

liberty to train up their children according to their own ideas."* Agreeably with these rules, he placed marriage and gestation under the public care. The infants were committed to public nurses; and after seven years of age, all were fed at public tables. The concubinage which was enjoined forbade propriety in offspring. The intercourse was so vilely promiscuous, that the boast was that there could be no adulterer. Lesche was a scene of unutterable grossness. The education of the youth was worthy of that brutal source. They were trained to suppress all the better emotions. Detection was taught to be the only crime. Valour was repaid by vice. Natural affection was scorned. And this national system of juvenile association is left on record with all its distinctive features, to prove that every system must be utterly wrong which makes light of the parental instinct and the natural law.

Plato, in his Republic, inculcates the same principle. He, like Lycurgus, speaks of marriage in its mere view of issue, and with no more delicacy than would become the breeding of the inferior animals as a source of gain. He allows the most unbridled sexual intercourse, if it be likely to produce hardy and handsome children. After a disgusting passage he proceeds: —"That their children be also common, so that the father shall not know his own son, nor the son recognise his own father. This is harder to be believed than the other as to possibility and usefulness. I do not

* Ουδε εξειν εκαστω τρεφειν ουδε παιδευειν ως εβουλετο τον υιον."

believe that any will doubt the advantage of it, that it would be the greatest good for the women to be in common, and the children to be in common, if it could be accomplished."* It is then proposed that magistrates shall be appointed to receive the children immediately on birth, and carry those of a well formed and noble descent to certain nurses dwelling in another quarter of the city. But they are to be authorised to bring the mothers of those children, whom they have not been permitted to see, in order to suckle them,—still as if it were a business of stock and means of profit,—while every art is to be employed that no one should know the babe which she has borne. The rude Lacedæmonian was not more ruthless of the deformed child than is this contemplative sage. It is asked,—we shudder at the incestuous reason of the question,—"How shall fathers and mothers and other kindred distinguish each other? In no manner can they be known." And this is he whom nations all but worship, the Divine Dreamer, the Celestial Seer! All invective, and not undeserved, is heaped upon the systems of modern infidelity: it is forgotten that their foulest dogmas first fell from his honeyed lips, that the metempsychosis of his spirit is among us in the most execrable licentiousness and disorganization, and that were he on the earth he would be the high priest of the orgies which every vir-

* "Και τους παιδας αυ κοινους, και μητε γονεα εκγονον ειδεναι τον αυτου, μητε παιδα, γονεα. Πολυ, εφη, τουτο εκεινου μειζον,"—κ. τ. λ.—De Republica, lib. v.

tuous mind abhors and loathes. But the hideousness of the idol is lost to the votary in the marvel of its legend, the nimbus of its glory, and the distance of its shrine.

Xenophon, in his Institution of Cyrus, contrasts the laws of the Persians with those of other nations. "These laws appear to begin with a provident care of the public good; not at the point where most other governments begin; most other governments, giving to all the liberty of educating their children as they please. . . . But these laws, taking things higher, are careful, from the beginning, to provide that their citizens shall not be such as to be capable of meddling with any action that is base and vile." He then explains the four plans of public life. That of the boys was national instruction under elders. They spoke of going to learn justice rather than letters. They held courts among themselves for the accusation of any offence. Their curriculum was in no sense literary, but a training of the body to temperance and warfare, and of the mind to habits of modesty and obedience. The whole must be received with much allowance, since the history is often wholly unauthenticated, and the writing is rather that of a pleasing romanticism than of a grave and veracious chronicle. It is, however, valuable as the opinion of so profound and so good a man.

Aristotle supports the same opinion. "No man can doubt, but that the education of youth ought to be the principal care of every legislator; by the neg-

lect of which great injury befalls the civil polity of states."*

It may be thought that Grecian education was generally private. In the Dramatis Personæ of both tragedy and comedy, the *pædagogue* frequently appears. But he was the person who had care of the very young of a household, without regard to their education. He was the man-nurse of the family, and was often employed in taking the boys to school. The true schoolmasters were the Paidotribes and the Didascalos. The law of publicity was not as rigid in Athens as in Sparta, but opinion and custom were on its side. The Areopagus is supposed to have had something to do with its direction. The educating system of Rome little appears. The choice of its youth studied in Greece or Ionia. The commonalty seems to have been hardy, ignorant, wayward. Quinctilian† speaks of former times as better than his own. The picture he draws is very beautiful of what had been the domestic bringing up of youth, with its then reverse. "Quis enim ignorat et eloquentiam et ceteras artes descivisse ab istâ vetere gloriâ, non inopiâ hominum sed desidia juventutis, et negligentiâ parentum et inscientiâ præcipientium, et oblivione moris

* Politics, lib. viii. cap 1. "Οτι μεν ουν νομοθετη μαλιστα πραγματευτεον περι την των νεων παιδειαν, ουδεις αν αμφισβητησειε· και γαρ εν ταις πολεσιν ου γιγνομενον τουτο, βλαπτει τας πολιτειας."

† It is still unsettled whether Quinctilian, or Tacitus, or a third party, be the author of De Oratoribus Dialogus. It generally passes as the composition of the first. Any author might be proud of so noble a composition.

antiqui? quæ mala primum in urbe nata, mox per Italiam fusa, jam in provincias manant: quamquam nostra nobis notiora sunt. Ego de urbe et his propriis ac vernaculis vitiis loquar, quæ natos statim excipuint, et per singulos ætatis gradus cumulantur, si prius de severitate ac disciplinâ majorum circa educandos formandosque liberos pauca prædixero. Jamprimum suus cuique filius ex castâ parente natus, non in cellâ emtæ nutricis, sed gremio ac sinu matris educabatur, cujus præcipua laus erat, tueri domum et inservire liberis. Eligebatur autem aliqua major natu propinqua, cujus probatis spectatisque moribus, omnis cujuspiam familiæ suboles committeretur, coram quâ neque dicere fas erat quod turpe dictu, neque facere quod inhonestum factu videretur. Ac non studia modó curasque, sed remissiones etiam lususque puerorum, sanctitate quadam ac verecundiâ temperabat. Sic Corneliam Gracchorum, sic Aureliam Cæsaris, sic Attiam Augusti, matrem, præfuisse educationibus, ac produxisse principes liberos, accepimus. Quæ disciplina ac severitas eò pertinebat, ut sincera et integra et nullis pravitatibus detorta uniuscujusque: natura, toto statim pectore, arriperet artes honestas: et sive ad rem militarem, sive ad juris scientiam, sive ad eloquentiæ studium inclinasset, id solum ageret, id universum hauriret."*

* "Who can now be ignorant that eloquence and the fine arts have fallen below their ancient glory, not from a dearth of men, but from the indolence of youth, and the neglect of parents, and the ignorance of instructors, and the deterioration of the ancient discipline? The evils, begun in the city, have poured themselves over Italy, and now inundate the very provinces. Ours are, however, more visible. As I

Juvenal devotes his fourteenth Satire to the example of parents and its influence on children. He shows how soon the child takes character, that from the earliest years the blossom sets:

"Cum septimus annus
Transierit puero, nondum omni dente renato,
Barbatos licet admoveas mille inde magistros,
Hinc totidem."*

confine myself to the prevalent vices of the Metropolis, vices which destroy our youth and gather themselves into every stage of life,—I will first speak of the uncompromising discipline which our ancestors exercised in teaching and training their children. In those times, each child could boast a modest mother. The infant was not sent, as soon as born, to the hovel of a mercenary nurse, but was reared on the knee and breast of its own mother, whose highest ambition was to regulate her home and wait upon her offspring. Some matron, related to the family, distinguished by unblemished morals, was set in charge of the little ones, before whose presence nothing low could be said and nothing dishonourable could be done. She ordered not only their studies and painstaking, but also their relaxations and sports, with a certain sanctity and reverence. It is thus we find that Cornelia the mother of the Gracchi, that Aurelia the mother of Cæsar, that Attia the mother of Augustus, superintended the education and unfolded the mind of their noble children. The consequence of all this unyielding system was, that the disposition of each was simple and self-consistent, unwarped by vices, and undiverted from scholastic pursuits: whatever was his bias, whether to military detail, or to the science of jurisprudence, or to the cultivation of eloquence, he gave himself to that pursuit, and thoroughly made himself master of it."

* "When the seventh year had gone over the head of the boy, ere he has renewed his first teeth, although you put him under the instruction of a thousand most venerable masters, from that time he remains the same."

His lines deserve immortality:

> "Nil dictu fœdum, visuque hæc limina tangat:
> Maxima debetur puero reverentia."*

Such language proves that the domestic system of his city and country had greatly fallen, which will always be the effect of public institutions where attendance is enforced, if not by penalty, by that which is more oppressive,—the influence of fashion and the condition of preferment!

The Roman Citizen was formally constituted, by the *Patria Potestas*, the very sovereign of his family. And it is worthy of remark, that Plutarch objects to the laws and institutions of Rome, that there was no public rule and system of education, such as existed in Lacedæmon. Horace shows us that "the great boys, sprung from noble centurions, with satchel and tablet swinging on their left arm," went to the private school, and *settled their accounts monthly:* while,—for none can be more simply tender than the lyrist in his pensive mood,—he describes his father, humble in circumstances but generous in views, taking him for education to Rome, still never abrogating domestic superintendence:

> "Ipse mihi custos incorruptissimus *omnes*
> *Circum doctores aderat.*"†

* "Nothing impure in expression or in look must profane those eaves: a religious reverence is due to youth."

† "He acting still as my uncompromising guardian, was always at the elbow of my teachers."—Satir: lib. i. 6.

We should scarcely have expected that in the Oceana of Harrington such opinions could be found. But that powerful and independent author is a very earnest advocate of them. "To set men to the work of industry, which is health, the Commonwealth must begin betimes with them, or it will be too late; and the means by which she sets them to it is education, the plastic art of government. But it is as frequent as sad in experience (whether through negligence, or, which in the consequence is all one, or worse, over-fondness in the domestic performance of this duty) that innumerable children come to owe their utter perdition to their own parents; in each of which the commonwealth loses a citizen. Wherefore the laws of a government, however wholesome soever in themselves, are such as, if men by a congruity in their education be not bred to find a relish in them, they will be sure to loathe and detest. The education, therefore, of a man's own children, is not wholly to be committed or trusted to himself." This reasoning is the more strange, inasmuch as the parent is supposed ready to do his duty; and should he fail, it is imputable to the excess of kindness. But could the parent, endowed with those dispositions, bring up the child in any way that was not conformable to the rules of that government? If that were good, would not patriotism and allegiance be parts of the education? Is not submission to the civil rule, is not the admiration of the civil constitution, the very general characteristic of the governed? How vile must

be that tyranny which youth will be sure to "loathe and detest!" How instantly should it be swept from the face of the earth!

Hobbes, in his Leviathan, strongly avers this prerogative of the Ruler to manage the education of his subjects. "They also that have authority to teach, or to enable others to teach, the people their duty to the sovereign power, and instruct them in the knowledge of what is just and unjust, thereby to render them more apt to live in godliness, and in peace amongst themselves, and resist the public enemy, are public ministers: ministers in that they do it not by their own authority, but by another's; and public, because they do it (or should do it) by no authority but that of the Sovereign. The monarch or the sovereign assembly only hath immediate authority from God to teach and instruct the people; and no man but the sovereign receiveth his power Dei gratiâ simply; that is to say, from the favour of none but God: all other, receive theirs from the favour and providence of God, and their sovereigns; as in a monarchy Dei gratiâ et Regis; or Dei providentiâ et voluntate Regis."

It is not easy to determine what are the exact ideas of Sir Thomas More in his interesting romance of Utopia. Some are beautifully domestic regulations. "Every mother is nurse to her own child, unless either death, or sickness, be the let." . . . "All in their childhood be instructed in learning." . . . "The city consisteth of families: the families most commonly be made of kin-

dreds." . . . "But to the intent the prescribed number of the citizens should neither decrease, nor above measure increase; it is ordained that no family, which in every city be six thousand in the whole, besides them of the country, shall at once have fewer children of the age of fourteen years or thereabouts, than ten, or more than sixteen. This measure or number is easily observed and kept, by putting them, that in fuller families be above the number, into families of smaller increase. But if chance be, that in the whole city the supply increase above the just number, therewith they fill up the lack of other cities." All these arrangements put youth at the disposal of the State. Bondmen are, likewise, introduced for the more humble duties of the community.

Bacon has chosen the same imaginative vehicle for his reflections. In his New Atlantis he opens his conception of a true commonwealth. Here all is wise: "the riches of Solomon's house." Here all is pure: it is "the Virgin of the world." He, alone, of this class of theorists, requires not the parent to forego his right in his offspring. His exquisite descriptions of the Feast of the Family, the honours of the Tirsau, the favours conferred upon the Son of the Vine, the retinue of the thirty descendants, the approach of the herald, — the entrances, retirements, and returns of him who is the pater-familias, — the kingly gift, — the shouts of the people of Bensalem, — are wrought as with one design, to do reverence to the marriage insti-

tute, and to proclaim the true glory of parents in their children.

We must not omit, that Infidelity ranges itself upon the side of parental irresponsibility. It is at every expense of feeling that we transcribe the language which it has uttered. "The present system of marriage is perfectly absurd, and the greatest piece of tyranny towards the females that could possibly be invented. Every contract of that kind ought only to be continued so long as it is agreeable to each of the parties, and each ought to be at liberty to put an end to it whenever he, or she, pleases. . . . Marriage and separate families create selfishness; no one has any right to say that this is my child, or these are my children; they should all be brought up in one general establishment, and then their habits and ideas would be similar, and they would then live together in harmony and concord."* Similar doctrines have been penned.†

Surely it is very obvious to every person, on the perusal of these opinions, that, if they contain any truth, they do not present all the truth; and that they have lost a very large portion of the ground which once they occupied, without any disputing them. As abstractions they would now be boldly denied. No power could be brooked which would tear these earliest, holiest, ties of nature asunder. The infancy and youth

* Robert Owen's Speech at Manchester, in the Exchange Rooms, during his first public visit to that town.

† His Book of the New Moral World.

of our children can only be placed under one control. But the wisest and freest government ought to see that this claim does not degenerate into bondage. The services of a child, at a reasonably appointed age, should become his own. The State may have yet a more delicate function to discharge. In this country there is a tribunal which has sometimes interposed between the reckless and vicious parent and the injured child. The equity of that proceeding is not arraigned. Yet it is to be doubted whether it be carried on in the supposition that the State is the foster-parent, "in loco parentis," or in simple protection of the helpless. It is obvious, too, that this appeal can only be of rare occurrence. Where some dignity and patrimony are at stake, our Chancery makes the heir its ward, and undertakes his education. It snatches him from the contagion of foul example in the licentious household. But is this not rather in its province of guardianship over all estate, than in the hypothesis of a parentage which of right it can assume? Over the child of the poor man,—though drunkard, debauchee, spendthrift,—it does not cast its shield. The precedent, therefore, scarcely establishes a principle, and even if there be the principle, it can only admit of the most partial operation.

The world has always been best administered when the opinions and feelings of mankind have been most respected. These opinions and feelings, when true to nature, will flow in one direction. Parent and progeny

are hard to part. Rob not the monster of its young. The case must be extreme in which this violence can be endured among civilised men. If this alienation be the mark of progress and the augury of optimism in society, we might prefer the barbarous horde and the ruder æra!

But the commonwealth has a vital interest in the education of its subjects. Ignorance defeats its highest ends. There is supposed a general acquaintance with its laws and institutions. It holds all alike accountable. It punishes with equal rigour, save in a case of discretionary punishments. Should it not undertake that all, beneath its authority, be properly informed?

Now in all these investigations, there is a primordial test. Does government exist separately from the people, they being born for it? Can it rightfully pursue ends to which the people do not agree? Can it be bound to undertakings which the people in its erection did not entrust to it? We need not be told that few original compacts of this kind can be found: that governors and subjects are seldom called to such amicable consultation. Still we must ask, Do these governments exist of any right but by the national will? Can they have any duty to perform but as the instrument of that will? The people may be foolish or wicked in shaping that government, in fixing its principles, in vesting its powers,—but itself can only be the organ of their voice, the sword of their avengement. They may be right or wrong in giving up to it the education

of their children. This is the matter of their own covenant with it. But it can have no claim to enforce that education, except as they shall thus make such claim over to its defence and care.

It is, surely, too late to speak of governments as independent and imprescriptible. The powers that be are of God, inasmuch as it was his will to make man a social being, and society can only exist by legal administration. We owe an account to Him for our social, as well as individual, conduct. But whatsoever is right in the one capacity, is so in the other. There can be no public conscience different from private conscience. It can be no more proper to resist public than private aggression, whatsoever be the proper species of that resistance. How can it be the prerogative of a government to educate the people? Has the eternal King commanded and authorised it? Where are his anointed lieutenants? If government be only an affair of arrangement, then education may, or may not, be included in that arrangement: if it be of heaven, we must demand its revealed muniments and provisions.

The only justifiable, or supposeably proper, occasion for taking this business out of the hand of the parent, — of resuming his responsibility by any government, — is, that he will not attend to it, that he suffers his children to grow up in ignorance, that they thus become injurious and dishonouring to the State. This is a case which may be supposed. Many cannot see why that ultimate power of states, to throw themselves

between parent and child, should not be here exerted. Parents and children are subjects. Parents are pledged by their social condition to seek every benefit of the child. A breach of that condition is proved. The State enforces it. The child has lost his natural, and even civil, protection and guidance. It is an orphanage. It is time for the control of that child to be taken up by another. The original trust is deserted. A conventional one must be substituted. The wilful neglect of educating his children justly lays the penalty of shame on the parent, when he beholds a third party do that which he would not do himself.

An analogous proceeding is legalised among us. The labour of young persons was deemed to be too prolonged in our factories. A bill was passed to restrict it to eight hours, from nine years of age to thirteen. This might seem only to affect the exaction of masters, but it was not without its compulsory influence on parents. It has been feared, at least, that many of these are not mindful of the proper strength of their children. Poverty has too much rested on the returns of this labour. It might have been said, that parental instinct would have rendered all interference unnecessary. The objection was overruled,—and public functionaries are now seen in our factories, the appointed guardians of those whose tender age the kindness of fathers and mothers is not left to defend. Who can question the right of parents in their children? Yet their responsibility is not suffered to be final. Our

Constitution knows not of any self-terminating power. The favourers of interference not seldom boast, that which others fear,—the probable extinction of youthful labour.

But the case is to be made out, ere we provide for it. We have been generous beyond the limits of the argument, in meeting it in its supposititious form. Few will assert, that education should be imposed where it is voluntarily pursued. And is it a common thing, that the children of this country are thus neglected? Is there not a pride, often too lavish of the means, in our poorest fellow-subjects, to educate their families? The contrary spirit may sometimes be shown. The vicious will most likely be careless of their offspring. We are, however, persuaded, that this is the very small exception. There is a general desire, even among the most ignorant, that the line of ignorance should end with themselves. Ere now, the parent has become the pupil of the child, and endeavoured to surmount those practical inconveniences which he already resolved that child should never feel.

The main objection, in many minds, against leaving the education of their children to parents, is, their supposed unfitness to make a proper selection of the teacher and the course. This disqualification, however, does not appear, when the medical or the legal adviser is to be chosen. A certain repute or experience is generally a sufficient test. It will be urged, that this objection is, at least, valid in religion. We do not allow

it. It is the duty of the poorest to "take heed *what* they hear:" To "beware of *false* teachers:" To "*try* the spirits." There can be no external guarantee. No order, no office, no system, can be the pledge of uni form or sound doctrine. Every man must be fully persuaded in his own mind.

It is a principle which has gained ground of late, that most things are done best by government. We must have observed a gradual encroachment upon private interests and companies which once existed, and in periods of no high liberty, with a strong independence. The East Indian Firm of political commerce, that vast Proconsulate, is drawn into the vortex of the all-encircling State. The Bank of England is gradually obeying the same gyration. The great transit-system of these realms is evidently regarded with this evil eye. These are questions of property with which we do not intermeddle. They are only regarded passingly by us as symptoms of a reigning spirit, of a domineering idea. But centralization is now so strongly justified, that education is placed among its principal duties. The most unconstitutional measure of modern times provoked, on this account, little resentment. There were epochs, and there have been men, that would not have endured the Order in Council which originated the Committee of the Privy Council for Education. We might have as reasonably received, in full insignia of his office, a Minister of Public Instruction: some Ædile to rear our schools, some Censor to inspect our

families. It is to be deplored, that the leaders in the muster-roll of our senatorial philanthropists indulge an opinion whose consequences they can have never examined. They seem to think it at present impracticable, —even for a long time they admit that it must proceed with great caution, — but still they hail the consummation of public staff and police for national training. Statesmen, lecturers, journalists, appear upon one side. It is espoused as an incontrovertible truth. Lord Denman, that great justicer and magistrate, — whose voice is always on the side of liberty, abashing from his seat in court and council a world's wrong-doing, the murder of the slave's deliverer abroad or the espiery of the letter's confidence at home, — contending for the subject's right against the legislature's prerogative, — throwing open the prison-house where the champion of millions lay, not by legal quibble but by constitutional demand, — has pronounced his sentence: — "It is the bounden duty of the State to provide for the education of the people." De Tocqueville thus declares his opinion: — "The first duty which is at this time imposed upon those who direct our affairs, is to educate the democracy; to warm its faith, if that be possible; to purify its morals; to direct its energies; to substitute a knowledge of business for its inexperience, and acquaintance with its true interests for its blind propensities."* We must, nevertheless, ask, What is there in government which requires this function, and which qualifies

* Democracy in America.

for it? We may then produce reasons to prove that its interference is prejudicial to the cause itself.

To gain a just conception of civil government, we may very properly enquire into the representation of the Holy Scriptures. If it be that Divine vicegerency which many have described, its picture and model will be enshrined there. We read of the King, who should supersede the Theocracy, that when he "sate on the throne of his kingdom he should write him a copy of the law, lest his heart should be lifted up above his brethren." We read that "he who ruleth over men must be just, ruling in the fear of the Lord." We read that "rulers are not a terror to good works, but to the evil." But none of these quotations place a sceptre in the monarch's hand to sway the conscience, to subject the soul. All that this government respects is the overt act. No intimation is afforded that it is responsible for the opinions of the people. And if it were thus responsible at any former time, it would be unable to exercise its duty in this and other countries, at their present date. The people are now the teachers of their rulers. Opinion works up from the lower to the higher gradations of society. Senates and kings but ceremoniously perform the national will. Scarcely ever does it happen that they are in advance of the public mind. From it, but slowly, they gather their informations and their decisions. What, in our time, maintains the religion of the privileged classes, but the religious manners and principles of the common people?

The responsibility of teaching a whole country, cannot but be serious; and if it inhere in government, there must be a reasonable proof of its competency. But this it would be very difficult to establish. Are the regions of a court and a legislature impervious to prejudices and errors? What security can they furnish, that the education, which they would impress, is just and sound? What peculiar apocalypse of truth do they enjoy? What has purged their visual sense of every film? It was when the National Convention of France actually debated the question of a national education, that Jacob Dupont "freely avowed that he was an atheist!" If each Power be competent, because responsible, all are in one category. But the Scotch and English Schools,—schools of one island, establishments of the same State,—inculcate contradictory doctrines. The governmental system differs in almost every land. Which is to be credited, and which to be refused? If the responsibility be to teach that which is wrong, where fall the consequences of this responsibility? The people suffer now. Little can they know of eternal retribution, who boldly say that they will bear it for the people. The variance, then, of the systems, destroys the equal duty to propagate them, and the universal obligation to receive them.

It is not uncommon to veil this argument in figure. Thus is it depicted. A father is justified in impressing his religious sentiments on his children. The law of nature and of religion requires this of him. The king

is the father of his people. Therefore he should not leave them without the religion he sincerely believes.—Strip off the veil, and the argument may easily be destroyed. The parent is necessarily older than the child; the religious parent, which the case supposes, is wiser and better than the child; and, withal, a natural relationship, which can have no parallel, involves a principle and right of authority which cannot but affect the child. And yet let that child arrive at a period of life to judge for himself, and he ought not to be charged with filial impiety, should he reverse the parental instructions. Apply the figure. Is the king older? How many of his subjects exceed him in age! Is the king wiser? Sometimes, at least, even in this quality, he may be surpassed. An inspired king imagined the opposite case.* Is the king better? Honoured be the pious king, but we are not surprised that so many have "done evil in the sight of the Lord." Only then is it a figurative style of speech, when the king is called the father of his people: it is not a strict relation, it is not a moral truth. He governs them, and they sustain him: they give him the system of rules by which only he can govern them: and it would be a much more analysed conception, a much stricter form of language, to say that the people are the father of the king, than that the king is the father of the people,—since he governs them by their choice and investiture, and receives from them his political power and existence.

* Eccles. iv. 13.

It is not easy to be consistent. In the very interesting "Essay on the Profession of Personal Religious Conviction, by Professor A. Vinet, of Lausanne, may be found the following remarks:—"Although the theory of government which I have adopted does imply the rejection of the theory of paternal jurisdiction, at least, in the strictest sense of the terms, I cannot think of forbidding to governments the exercise of paternal feelings and paternal virtues. I cannot consider the enterprises and improvements of civilization as outrages on justice and liberty. I am now desirous most explicitly to state, that whatever may be my views as to the ideal perfection of a community, I regard all governments actively engaged in breaking the bread of knowledge to their subjects, not the enemies, but as the friends, of liberty." Every reader must see incoherence and vacillation in these sentences. Some appear as truisms. If a government should *act* like a parent, not having the *right* to do so, the excellent author would approve! Why should it not as much give religion as education? What funds has it to accomplish this, but the revenues forced from the people? It is a most lame and impotent conclusion. It can only be explained by his fear of raising too great a controversy —the double question of Established Churches and Educational Impositions.

What, then, it may be asked, should a monarch do? We answer, what any other man ought to do; be himself religious, and preserve a domestic discipline of

religion. Let him maintain a pious, holy, court. Let his example, and even his counsel, recommend religion to his subjects. But we have a precedent, and this we enforce. Would that all leaders and governors of nations might speak the language, and act upon the decision, of Joshua: — "If it seem evil unto you to serve the Lord, choose you this day whom ye will serve; but as for me and my house, we will serve the Lord!"*

It will be said, that the Church of the Country is the proper instructress of the people: that it is its direct design. On the question of civil incorporations of Christianity, we do not touch. It belongs not to our argument. The argument leaves it open. It binds neither side of the dispute. Then, regarding any indefeasible claim of such a church, apart from its political establishment, as only of itself, — we ask, How has it acquired the right to control the education of the people? Has the State, which has adopted it, given it the right? Then will come the question, Is it a right which the people may allow? Is it in agreement with their rights? A state conscience is a strange argument for infringing the consciences of millions. The diversity of churches will perplex the peasant and the boor. Such diversity annuls the boast itself. There is education, it is to be administered under an ecclesiastical jurisdiction, but what is that? It may be the Sorbonne of France, the Synod of Russia, the Inquisi-

* Josh. xxiv. 15.

tion of Spain, the Diet of Rationalistic Germany, the Consistory of Socinian Geneva. These cannot all be the fitting mediums and the aptest instruments. Let every favourable exception be conceded to the English Church. Allow its doctrinal purity and tolerant spirit. It is plain, that if the people be so lamentably ill-educated, as is charged upon them, here falls the censure. If it was the duty of that church to direct the discipline of the rising race,—if it received "the nation's trust, the nurture of her youth, her dearest pledge,"*—then has it most unfortunately, or most guiltily, failed in it. The Universities it inexorably shuts against all dissidents from its doctrine, though surely they stand not less in need of lore. We fear that we must charge it with neglect, if not malversation. From a table of the funds appropriated to educational purposes, according to the Report of the Commissioners appointed to enquire into them, M'Culloch deduces the following facts:—"It appears that, under the present defective and slovenly management, the income of endowed schools in these countries, exclusive of the sum appropriated for that purpose by the chartered companies of the metropolis, amounts to £180,309. But nine of the most opulent English counties, including Cheshire, Essex, Kent, and Lincoln, are omitted in the above abstract, not having been enquired into by the commissioners when it was published. Allowing for this deficiency, and supposing that the estates, and other property

* Cowper.

appropriated to educational purposes, were reasonably and well managed, we believe that we shall be within the mark, if we lay down that a free income, of from £400,000. to £450,000., is at present partly, and should be entirely, devoted in England and Wales to the support of school education." It is a munificent endowment: it is a mighty feoffment: what a work would it have wrought had it been faithfully and assiduously administered! But the Church neglected the population: other guides arose and obtained a powerful influence over it: and society has long since been so divided into religious sections, that few will entertain the hope that the old ecclesiastical ascendancy can be recovered. If any imaginary right be retained by it, its power has passed from it. There are millions who will not submit to its instructions. It can impart no truly national education.

Special reasons may be found against the docent authority and right of any Established Church. Perfectly just as may be its position, scripturally pure as may be its doctrine, it does not follow that, therefore, its province is in the education of the youthful race. Its close and dependent connection with the State, must always create a tendency to take its part. This tendency becomes a temptation to lean to the side of power. Popular liberty is not likely to be its cherished vision, or warmest inculcation. There is no wrongful suspicion in this view. Whatever is a certain tendency becomes a law. But history justifies our jealousy. Ecclesiastical

corporations must have proper, if not selfish, interests. Can such corporations be expected to foster enquiry into their grounds of existence? May we divine that they will champion the progress of freedom and general knowledge? Will they be intent especially on the advancement of the people? They may have a useful place in a country, and yet be most disqualified for this particular service. Besides, an Established Church is a living community. Its standards and symbols may be irreproachable, but itself has prejudices and other party passions. If it teach, it must teach what its functionaries think and feel. It may be brought under the influence of most noxious errors. Its ministers and interpreters for the time, may wrest and strain language, otherwise understood, to support them. Such errors may grow into fashion and become ascendant. Are these to be taught? A great portion of the actual clergy may favour them. Is the church to promulgate this corrupt doctrine? What security has the nation that only Christian verity shall be imparted for the guidance of its youth? Formularies and articles cannot be stamped upon the mind in their strictest and purposed meaning. There comes, between the one and the other, individual and varying opinion. It cannot be doubted, that if this imagined duty were now committed to the English Hierarchy, many of its ministers would train the young to the most doting and abject superstitions. No small part of the opposition against the recent attempt to establish a National Education,

sprung from the general disgust and dread of a revived Popery, although denominated Protestantism.

When we are told what a government ought to do, —and when particular duties are imposed upon it, it is only necessary for us to assert what in *all* cases must be its *principles*. It must be impartially *just*, it must be strongly *protective*, it must be intelligently *free*. It should favour no class at the expense of another. It should act in equality towards each and all. It should not, even "to do a great right, do a little wrong."* Whatever are the particular duties, they must be subsequent to these principles, and should fall within their influence. In the one, there can be no mistake,—they are fixed;—in the other, mistake is easy,—they are speculative and arbitrary.

In every country, the education which is forcible may not appear equally a wrong; nor is it in the same degree, an inconsistency with a right-minded government. There being but one system of faith, there is no apparent wrong or inconsistency in its invariable inculcation. It may be the will of the present people. There is not the sense of force in the collection of the tax, or in the surrender of the children. But all this favouring circumstance does not make the principle right. It but wards off an actual inconvenience and collision. Another generation may think otherwise. It is of our country, however, that we restrict ourselves to speak.

* Shakspeare. Merchant of Venice.

In England may be numbered, upon the safest calculation, as many separatists from the Established Church, as adherents. These are subjects as loyal, as important, as worthy of righteous maintenance, as their conforming fellow-countrymen. They deserve, they demand, to be treated alike with the rest. It is, therefore, obvious, that a government which is just, equal, protective, free, must find that any national education will, perhaps, of necessity, bear partially and wrongfully upon such a people. Make it secular, the religionist complains. Give it any religious peculiarity, and the different religious communities protest. There are those who object to any interference, let the case be what it may. Others feel it to be an outrage upon conscience, to assist in the promulgation of sentiments which their hearts condemn. There are not a few patriots, who see, in any uniform system, the destruction of our national character and the enslavement of our dear-bought liberty. There are not a few œconomists who see, in any bias of education towards some more than to others, an unjust distribution of a revenue, contributed, without distinction, by all.

The reason, then, is against the supposition, that it is the duty of government to educate the people, inasmuch as the attempt involves, at least, in almost every instance, an injustice; that greatest flagrancy which any can commit, that greatest evil which any can avoid. But every principle is worse than dubious which cannot be carried out. The principle is this. Government

has so deep an interest in the education of the people, that it must direct it. How far shall it be extended? Government has the deepest interest in its electoral community and hereditary aristocracy. Should it not enforce, then, the education of this important class? If good for any, would it not be good for all? Where must the process stop? The argument proves too much. The restriction, at what point soever it is raised, can only be capricious. What right can exist to force the poor child from his parentage and home, which does not apply to the fondling of the rich and the heir of the noble?

The basis of much specious theory on this attributed duty of States, has been the admixture of public and private obligations. The amiable citizen has beheld ignorance around him. He has attempted to instruct the poor. In this all was voluntary. Parent and child were under no constraint. He has only taken from his own proper store. He reasons, that the many ought to do what the individual does. He is right when he speaks of the many as of so many individuals. They may voluntarily combine, or voluntarily act alone. But his inference is most violent,—that which individuals are bound to do, government is likewise bound to do. If it be true, that each person, in an associated capacity, must act in that capacity, exactly as he would when insulated, then he cannot join any civil company or incorporation. For he must now work out simply their intentions, whether mercantile or scientific. He

must not alienate their funds to religion,—either to maintain his own, or to oppose that of others. He feels, at once, that what would be his personal, is not his relative, duty. He has deprived himself of all power, choice, liberty.—It is sometimes asked, and in a triumphant tone, Is it not the office of government to do all the good it can? We answer, that it must attempt no good in contravention of its true purposes, or by illegitimate means. But this question is intended to reduce the opponent to dilemma. Government should do all possible good: the enforcement of universal education is a good: therefore, government should enforce universal education. The major premiss assumes a questionable proposition, a perfect fallacy, as to the kind and limit of good: it must do evil, that good may come. The minor premiss is as gratuitous, for whether this enforcement of universal education be, or be not, a good, is the moot matter in debate. The conclusion is nugatory, for it depends upon nothing. The whole, indeed, is vicious, for it begs the question,—it asserts that government education is a good,—the point in dispute,—the point under denial.

"Certainly, the great multiplication of virtues upon human nature, resteth upon societies well ordained and disciplined; for commonwealths and good governments do nourish virtue grown, but do not much *mend the seeds: but the misery is, that the most effectual means are now applied to the ends least to be desired.*"*

* Bacon.

If the duty of the individual and the government be coextensive, the Christian will often spurn in his philanthropy the frontier of his country, and seek the moral illumination of the world. He is a debtor to the wise and to the unwise. He feels it to be his duty to consecrate his property and his influence for the mental and spiritual benefit of mankind. Must the State imitate his example? Is it to exercise intervention with foreign countries for these purposes? Is it to drain its coffers for them? It is the duty of the Christian, as far as he can, to Christianise the whole species. Does it follow that the State ought to attempt the same?

None can deny to the opinions of Dean Swift great force and acuteness. They are not affected by the vehicle he chooses to employ. In the parable of Lilliput he sets down profound remarks and satires worthy of the statesman and the philosopher. In that State, he declares it to be the fixed conviction, "that parents are the last of all others to be trusted with the education of their own children." It is provided with "male and female nurseries." If the cost be not punctually paid, it is "levied by the emperor's officers." The very poor are, however, released from this necessity of resorting to the nurseries at all. "The cottagers and labourers keep their children at home, their business being only to till and cultivate the earth, and therefore their *education is of little consequence to the public.*" After this information, we wonder not at the follies of this "terra incognita:" its commotions: its factions:—the

moral conclusion is, that such means could only produce a pigmy race.

The asserted claim of any government to educate the people, may not, at first, appear to involve any serious evil. But no pretension can contain so distinct a principle and means of tyranny. It is grasping the whole intellect of a country. It says, in impious rivalry of the Father of spirits, "All souls are mine." Its right being so far acknowledged, it knows no definable limit. What shall be taught, lies in its behest. A just consequence of its prerogative is the censorship of the press. All literature it must control. Every expansion of opinion it must liberate. It stereotypes the public mind. The education is doomed to be always under the State: it must never be directed to bear upon it. These are not improbable evils: though, were they simply possible, the sagacious and the provident of the future would resist a principle which could be so applied. But experience is not silent upon these effects.

The Executive Government of this kingdom, in taking up the matter of national education, has been severely blamed. We deem it capable of some defence. We are quite sure, save towards a certain department, that the blame has been too unmeasured. We ask, Was it not again and again urged upon the attention of the State? Was not the neglect of it as often laid to its charge? Was it not provoked into it by taunt and invective? Did not a moral impeachment hang over it?

All sides, all parties, averred the duty of the government to interfere. Besides, it was the less blameworthy in that the principle had been already enacted. Compulsory education was recognised in the Factory Bill. That clause might be of very contracted power. The complaint was very general, not that the clause was legislated, but that it was so inoperative. All the while, that which we condemn was largely approved. The grievance was felt, not that it was done at all, but not done with a just efficiency. Our rulers might well rebuke us for suffering them to assume a false, as the public, opinion,—for silently and unreproachingly beholding the germ of what we allege to be so immense an evil,—for our inconsistency, or our cowardice. "We do remember our faults this day."

It may now be proper to expose, by facts, the reasoning which we have assailed in abstractions. National education does exist in many of the Continental States. It has operated long enough for decided effects to be seen. There is abundance of organization. There are grand Referendaries. There are portfeuilles and bureaux. Local check is unknown. Self-government is repudiated. All hangs upon one centre. Let us examine the great scholastic regimen of France. There is a Minister of Public Instruction. He is the Master of the University, which is the keystone to the whole edifice of education. It has dependent upon it, academies, royal colleges, communal colleges, institutions, pensions, primary schools. A Royal Council assists the

Minister. The seven functionaries, of which it is composed, divide the faculties and departments of education among them. Under them are inspectors-general. Then the Heads of the academies are constituted over their respective provinces. All is detail and surveillance. There is nothing which can elude the jealous care of the most balanced system. But freedom is sacrificed on the elaborate altar. Teacher and pupil cannot know it. The school is the ward of one great, panoptic, prison-house, with the keepers before the door. The work of Professor Lorain gives a deplorable account of the state of things. He was one of four hundred and ninety inspectors sent forth by Guizot to examine into the primary schools. He proceeds upon their general reports.* The tale is almost incredible of the miscreants who were called schoolmasters, and the hovels which were called schools. The incapacity, the vice, the squalor, the audacious dissimulation and deception, nearly surpass the power of belief. The moral influence is too apparent. It is the characteristic of the brave and free to rest upon themselves. The desire of the true patriot is in every thing to circumscribe the province of government, where it can be done by extending the sphere of individual action. In our country, the loan of the State is generally deprecated. We

* The original work is largely quoted from in a Publication of 1843 : "Reasons against Government Interference in Education : by an Observer of the Results of a Centralised System of Education during Thirteen Years' Residence in France."

would allow nothing of our commerce, or our undertakings, to fall into its hands. But when education is resigned to it, we are henceforth children. The mind is discouraged and debased. We consent to receive our ideas, and those only which are minted with a royal device. We are under tutors and governors. Self-reliance, the soul of virtue, the talisman of success, is beaten down. France is infidel or superstitious at a bidding. Generation is in conflict with generation as the educatory machine is set. The nation looks up for its direction to the existing ruler or government. It can, therefore, only be in bondage. It is not the people, but that power. That power is a great deputation to do every thing. And why is this? Because the mind of the nation is made prisoner, and led captive, by the training which meets it at the outset of life,—which binds it to uniformity, impresses it with helplessness, and satisfies it with dependence. Hence, the absence of enterprise; the dearth of large and stirring views, of great and far-seeing principles. The quarrel of the people may be with the government; emeute may shake it, or revolution may overthrow it; but they keep to the one idea, the one idol, of the government still. The high-souled reform of the nation, the regeneration of the people, enters not into their thoughts. They think themselves free, but it is in the sale of their freedom. They capitulate to a system of egregious vainglory: for empty honour and pageant, they lay down their arms and abandon their garrisons. They may

find out in time their folly. It will not be long before they see how "men ride over their heads." They have bowed themselves to the despotism, and they must not complain that it tramples on them. Like *other fortifications,* they will at last learn that educatory bulwarks are for their own intimidation. All will be turned against themselves. We have a hundred governments in England; if they do wrong, the tribunals proscribe and punish: but, with one much grudged exception, (save that of the Registration, which requires a central safe-keeping and archive,) centralization, that subordinate ramification which gives to a Parisian board its national ubiquity, is unknown to us.

The education which is established in Prussia, is a theme of very wide and vehement eulogy. It has been exalted as a model of perfection. The best, the only safeguard, of liberty, is hitherto withheld. That Constitution which was promised, when a popular spirit was to be awakened, which was the signal-cry for levies of youth and treasure, is still ungratefully and perfidiously refused. The last and the present monarchs have borne their faculties meekly, and have exhibited many amiable virtues. But poor, and to be accursed, are "the virtues which undo a country." The private excellence and domestic goodness of the despot are not uncommon. His nature must have some vent of tenderness. Wielding a mighty machinery of oppression, it is not likely that he will carry cruelty and violence into his home. It is a respite of self-torment,

to find here pastime and caress. It is relief from the heavy forms of State. It is only a variety of selfishness. Who commends the lion, as it devours its prey, that it is loving to its mate and gamesome with its cubs? No more dire misfortune has fallen on man, that this amiableness of tyrants. It often is pretence. Better were it to be so. Humanity would not be so mocked. Its riddle would not be so entangled. Often it is real. It is then pleaded for excuse to crush millions of families, to send desolations through millions of households. A Nero and a Caligula could not do half the mischief of a William and a Nicholas. What is the country of which we speak? this kingdom of boasted light? this land of universal education? A camp of manœuvres, an arsenal of weapons, a barrack of troops. All are trained to military service. Upon this martial regulation is founded the system of instruction. It supplies, of course, immense facilities for it. A thousand subalterns are ready to conduct it. Pædagogues are the orderlies and sentries. The drum and the drill are the notices and exercises. An elementary education, very complete as far as it goes, is confessedly afforded. But what is the national character which it can shape? It severs the proper sympathies of parent and child. It extinguishes the proud consciousness of free agency and personal accountability. It raises mind to one level: it as often sinks it to the same. A dull monotony succeeds. To this is a noble people made slave and victim. What high deeds can such discipline pro-

voke? What are the excellencies which this culture can inspire? They who anticipate the reign of mind and of religion, can see, in all this mechanism, no preparatory process, no encouraging earnest, no prophetic hope!*

But resentment may bring deliverance. Monarchs' words must not be as dicers' oaths. The moody contempt with which the Perjurer is at this moment regarded, except among his myrmidons, bespeaks the first approaching fall of retribution. His country burns in anger amidst his banquets and reviews. It does not forgive him as he feasts Metternich in "the castled heights" of Stolzenfels, and, to amuse monarchs, turns Rhine into a stream of splendour. Child's play may cease. A mighty race is ready to speak out. It can be juggled with no more. Only might it be appeased by a contrite redemption of his pledge. But it is not to be delayed. It will be no excuse that his kingdom cannot stand with a Constitutional Representation. What then? What is a kingdom? If it perish the nation survives, the people remain, the only reasons why it should ever have existed!

Moral motive should operate on the parent, and, as early as possible, on the child, in the work of instruction. But though there may be national provision in a free country without compulsion, in every despotic land, it is more or less coercive. The common practice in Germany is, for the schoolmaster to keep a list

* See Laing's "Notes of a Traveller."

of the children who attend his school. This must be certified by the clergyman of the parish, who remonstrates with the parents, if their children are not enrolled. If this have no effect, the names of the defaulters are forwarded to the commissioners of education, or to the Consistory, as the law may be; and they are then cited to the Court of Judicature, to which they are amenable, are fined, or imprisoned when they have not the means to pay the fine. It may be said, that recusancy seldom manifests itself, and that these punishments are very rarely inflicted. But there is another sanction, which is more concealed. The ceremony of Confirmation depends upon the attendance of the children at the school, and their civil rights can only be obtained on receiving it. This proscription is only a disguise of the same harsh and overbearing force, which threatens the mulct or the dungeon.

Not disposed to take offence at a word, nor to indulge a fastidiousness of criticism, we have used, as a part of the common terminology, what is called *training*. But we disrelish it. It seems to treat man too much as the animal or the posturer: it reminds of the menège or the gymnasium. It is sufficiently well accommodated to the theory of man, as the creature of circumstances, as the proper quantity of flesh and spirit to fill up mercantile or military parallelograms. If there are those who think that they can make him just what they wish, we are sure that they have not planted that aim on any noble height. They would weld him to

their end only, as more malleably subservient to them than the metals which they forge. But if we believe in the diversities of human intellect, that there lie deep in it the elements of various power, that education, as the word intends, is the appointed mode of drawing forth its mined stores, then, the system of batons and signals, — the fugle management of all, nothing discriminated, nothing adapted, — can only miserably fail in every exalted purpose, securing but the living machine and debased instrument. We seek to raise the individual, and also the nation, to "glory and virtue," to "honour and immortality," to "a heavenly calling," to "a divine nature." Training is a sorry word for such a destiny. A nobler evolution is supposed: a more celestial impulse is required.

It is not an argument to be endured, that a quietness, that even a contentment, is engendered by this policy. This effect is not denied. But it is Oriental stillness. It is Chinese death. It is the destruction of whatever is peculiar to man. If all that is to be hoped of him, if all that can be attempted for him, be this acquiescence, we cannot impeach the means by which this end is attained. We, however, believe that there is an end far more glorious to which he is called. If it be to think, to act independently, to reason into things, to carry out influence upon others, such means can no longer subserve it. They resemble instruments which can effect great changes in insensate matter; but which can have no power over mental conviction and

motive. Unthinking man may be happy, but not so thoroughly as the brute which is incapable of thinking: we desire thinking man to be happy, which he can only be by rising above the brute in the proportion to his capacity of thought. Nor can we imagine that the labourer will be the worse mechanic because he reasons. Even should he, like the bell-founder of Schiller's Lay, sing the very prophecy of his work, foreboding its alarum and knell, hailing its joy-peals and festive chimes,—the metal need not be, on that account, carelessly composed, nor the cone be misshapenly cast.

In the classical ages of Greece and Rome, though the gymnastic exercises were recommended, they do not seem to have been enjoined. They were extolled, but not imposed. These and music were the rudiments of education. We know that the instruction of youth was most carefully studied, that the science of education was most diligently prosecuted; but government did not affect to legislate upon it. Once, and, perhaps, only once, was the liberty of teaching revoked. This is a sufficient proof that it was an understood and admitted right. In the 116th Olympiad, the period of Polyperchon, a decree was passed in Athens, by which teachers were forbidden to set up any school, unless the liberty of doing so had been granted by the senate and people. A certain Sophocles, the son of Amphicleda, bears the execrable credit of instigating it. The very next year it was annulled, and its author was

accused, by Philo, of a wicked outrage on the laws, and amerced in five talents, though Democharés, the nephew of Demosthenes, pleaded his cause. That interval which saw the suppression of educational liberty, was marked by the indignant retirement of Theophrastus, and the other philosophers, from the city.* It is recorded, that during the consulate of Caius Fannius, Strabo, and of Cnœus Domitius Ahenobarbus, (A.U.C. 630,) a persecution arose against the philosophers,—some accounts say, the Rhetoricians, and others, the Epicureans. But their perfect liberty would not have been denied, save on the allegation, that they were the corrupters of youth, to which their methods and opinions lent at least some colour of probability.†

How pleasing are the touches of domestic tenderness and order, which some incidental passage, in a classical author, unfolds, as marking the Roman com-

* Bergmann. The author has done his utmost to obtain this work. He has failed. He is compelled to do that which he most dislikes, quote a quotation. He finds, however, the following account of the same fact in the Biographie Universelle: "Pour l' atteindre plus surement, et lui ôter les moyens d' une juste défense, une loi ferma toutes les écoles, et interdit aux philosophes d' enseigner, soit publiquement, soit en particulier. En un instant, Athènes fut privée de toutes les voies de l' instruction. Les philosophes s' éloignerènt le même jour; les rhéteurs seuls eurent le privilège demeurer. L' effet de cette loi dura un an: elle fut alors rapportée, et son auteur condamné à une amende de cinq talents. Les philosophes rentrèrent aussitôt dans Athènes."

† Aulus Gellius, lib. xv. cap. 11. The author of the Attic Nights is evidently wrong in conjoining the name of Messala with Strabo.

mon life. We are accustomed to think of it only in its severer forms. We call up before our minds unrelenting sternness and stoicism. But the parental character was not despoiled of its nature. It was beheld in the most ardent desire to train offspring for all social duties. While it assiduously prepared them for the State, it resigned not that business to it. Thus, in the Adelphi of Terence, the wit of Syrus does not hide from us the parental influence in education: "Ut quisque suum vult esse, ita est."* Nor does the weakness of Demea conceal the indefatigable earnestness of that influence:

> "Nil prætermitto: consuefacio: denique
> Inspicere, tanquam in speculum, in vitas omnium
> Jubeo, atque ex aliis sumere exemplum sibi."†

An education not provided in this manner, an apparatus set up independently of all popular choice and control, can never be valued as it must be to be availing. If it be presented as a dole and boon, it will be depreciated by those who see in it no kind motive. If it be enforced by payments, the exaction will irritate the more that it is irresponsibly applied. The party stands neither in the capacity of the beneficiary nor the creditor. He must receive and he must contribute.

* "Parents make the character of the child."

† "I omit nothing: I am always teaching: my chief injunction is, that he look into the lives of all, as in a mirror, and out of them select a pattern for himself."—Act 3, sc. 4.

It is well known that the simple gift is rarely estimated. Sweet is the bread of care. The proceeds of labour inspire a delightful independence. How many a Bible is treasured, towards which the little weekly instalment was devoted! How manly is the feeling of many a frugal swain when he accounts with the village schoolmaster for the humble tuition of his children! An eleemosynary education, or that which is eked out by compulsory pittance, will never warm the heart into gratitude. In such a scheme of national instruction there is a boasted uniformity. But this is a property which eats out the core, which destroys the life, of every scheme of honourable competition. Repetition convicts no error, experiment opens no truth. The mind of every child is to be impressed in the same way. The next generation is to beat time to the step of this. But far different is the earnestness of the voluntary education for which we plead. The private teacher owes his success to studious thought and constant self-improvement. He must compare his plans. He must divine his pupils. He must revise his proceedings. He must advance with others. If he pause, he will lose the race. Education is his commodity and he must ply it. Empiricism will not be the unlikely consequence of this rivalry; but his greatest mistake cannot be so unsuitable as the success, his lowest effect cannot be so superficial as the triumph, of a national education.

It is argued, with much of the air of an afterthought, that if little be achieved by this method in

the education of youth, yet that, in securing such a number of teachers, a nucleus is obtained for social advancement. These, it is contended, are in themselves a vast accession to the stock of national learning and intelligence. We cannot concede it. It is an empty boast. They are no part of the community. They are no ingredient in a people. They stand only as a class separated from all beside. They are imposed: they may be recalled. It bespeaks a most undesirable encroachment. Such men are nothing in a nation but as instructors. Their instructions are carried very generally to the full limit of their own knowledge. They have been trained for a certain office, and are most uninfluential out of it. And what is their independence in lending themselves to a uniform system of literary and religious tuition? They are the underlings of a despotic power. They are the drudges in the execution of its decrees. They may educate the people in this slavish rut; they may educate them well: but what are they in themselves? What discoveries will they make? What high-souled virtues will they establish? What barriers of prejudice will they throw down? What lights will they carry forward into the future? We mark them with a deep jealousy. They are the ready agents of every anti-popular plot. They are the Prætorian guard. They are as the Switzers and the Janisaries of the tyrants who hate our "nature's onward plan." Subserviency is written on their brow. They are held in leash to assist, at any moment,

the iron arrest of enquiry and the reckless suppression of liberty. They are the taskmasters to crush the human spirit. Mechanically inured for mechanical duty, they are creatures of the routine, the circle, the groove: they are not the men to think, to reason, to soar away towards the sun of truth. They are the puppets of a show,—they are only impelled and managed by unseen springs and wires.

Other countries, other powers, may see, in this uniform training, the precise means to as precise an end. They proclaim that their purpose is unitive. They would melt down all discordances of opinion into a common mould. The following extract from Le Siècle of 18th March, 1837, cannot be mistaken:—"An end of this kind can only be obtained by the means of education, which, in taking generations at their source, finds neither prejudices nor interests contrary to its influence. This is above all necessary, after a revolution which has fractioned the country into so many parties; for if education were free, parents would entrust their children to those schools wherein their principles were professed; society would still remain divided; political strife, party and religious hatreds, would thus be perpetrated from age to age; and it would be impossible for government to accomplish the peaceful mission with which it has been charged. We would, therefore, have been willing enough to restrain parental authority, and the rights of teaching, in favour of the University, provided that University had received the impulse of a

national government." Was that the wolf-bark of the Corsican dynasty? Was it the toothless doting of the elder Bourbon? It is the apology of the second revolution of the regenerated nation, of the popular kingship, of la Jeune France, in favour of its educatory catholicon! The University, it is intimated, is not quite in unison with the movement. There is no Napoleon to cow it. There is no Charles to entice it. If it were less independent, more democratic, it might take the masterdom of all the ideas and convictions of the people! This may be the language only of journalism. Another extract shall be taken from the Report which was drawn upon Public Instruction, 1837, by M. Dubois, member for La Loire, member of the Royal Council of Public Instruction, a general Inspector of the University, and Director of the Normal School:— "Thank God and the progress of civilization, it is now admitted that the State cannot allow the education of the people, nor yet the higher branches of knowledge, to be exposed to the mercy of political and religious parties, and to the changes of private industry." . . . "Can a government allow the principles, the rules, the manners, and the habits, religious, civil, and political, on which it is founded, to be tossed about by every wind of doctrine? Every day, complaints are heard about the anarchy which prevails in public opinion. Would it, by chance, be a remedy for this evil, if, in the midst of so many new systems of education, the national majority, of which the government, after all,

is but the highest expression, — the majority, that constituted, acknowledged, and sovereign, authority, in all other matters, dared not, or could not, proclaim itself sovereign also in education?"*

The spirit and the scope of these quotations are explicit. We blame them for no disguise. But we indignantly ask, What must be the state of the country which can endure them, which can applaud them? The right of private judgment, of unbiassed enquiry, of moral independence, is blotted from their charter by the citizens themselves. Public education is abused for the avowed purpose of this disfranchisement. It is to be employed for the very end of a universal assimilation. The modifications of mind are thus sought to be destroyed. The religious individuality of man, the most solemn thought which can possess him, that which is the "whole of man," is not recked of. His present social condition and subserviency is the total view and care. His "large discourse, looking before and after," is erased. He must think only through one medium. His patriotism consists only in a Procrustean denaturalization. And should it not be a warning, like that of the Treble Woe, how we indulge the theory of a Public Education, an education by the fashionable agency of central board and stipendiary inspection? The literary information, the proper taste, of such a people can never be exalted: but however

* The Author is indebted for both extracts to the Pamphlet before quoted, "Reasons against Government Education," &c.

great should be their intellectual progress, the most accurate knowledge would be no substitute for the sense of personal accountability. Their minds might be filled with the curves of geometry and the wonders of physiology, to say nothing of poetry and romance; and yet the Plague of Darkness might be upon them, the more portentous that it was not felt.

Would we know what France anticipates as its millenium, its euthanasia, its apotheosis, we need but consult the Book of its Royal Schools, or, according to the second title of that beautiful publication, "L' Avenir de la Jeunesse." That high hope is founded upon certain institutions for cadets. The youthful candidates for fortune are trained in them. They almost all point to the public service,—Polytechnic, Naval, Staff, Charters, Verduring, Mining, Cavalry, Road and Bridge construction, Engineering and Artillery, and even Veterinary! There are also establishments for the Fine Arts, for Law, for Medicine, and for Music. The normal school is the most honoured of all. It is the "Pepiniere" of a universal influence. It is the centre and ganglion of a universal distribution. O how unlike the spontaneous, the original, the vigorous, outworking of our country's mind! How artificial, tame, monotonous, compared with the naturalness and independence of our people! The arts and professions cease to be liberal; and the soil, over which government sets its army of mercenaries and espials, resounds with the one step, or rather tramp, of a mechanical uniformity. All

must be stunted to be made equal, and be rigid to be made even. The trees of the forest must be clipped to one pattern. The windings of the river must be straightened to the most undeviating line. "Avenir!" We cannot welcome it. We see in this formalistic plan no seeds of power, no auguries of glory! The nation, so handled and worked into its shape, never can be illustrious! Its generations can only be cycles of what has been! There is no advance. It has no susceptibility of progression. It never can be greater, by the All Hail, Hereafter!

Poor Louis, from his Bed of Justice at Versailles, declared his "resolve to establish, in every part of his kingdom, that unity of design and system, that correspondence of the parts with the whole, without which a great State is only weakened by the number and extent of its territories." He, therefore, would put down the various parliaments of his kingdom. He must centralise! He provoked the nobility and clergy against him, as well as the people. The project brought him to the prison and the block.

Such uniform education binds and tethers a people. It leaves generation after generation in the same hopeless state. It allays discontent, but it is by stopping all progress: it is the gain of slavish supineness at the loss of immortal craving: you, for the sake of the citizen, forego the man. The pendulum does not describe an arc of more unvarying measurements, nor sweep a succession of more tiresome vibrations.

But even now the reaction comes. The State and the Church of France cannot act together, nor agree as to the proper share of each in this business. The Minister of Public Instruction, in this present year, (1844,) has brought in his Education Bill, establishing liberty of instruction for all individuals, and the right of parents to educate their children in their own way,—securing perfect control for the government only in all public establishments. The Monarch, on opening the present Session of the Chambers, announced his wishes to give freedom to education. The meaning is plain. The Church would overawe the Civil Power, and claimed, for this end, the training of the people: the Civil Power perceives that it must abandon some portion of its former pretensions, in order to hold in check the haughty purposes of the Church. The *Univers*, the organ of the hierarchy, furiously assails the Bill. Between these fierce encounters, which shall be the greater tyrant and divide the larger ascendancy, State or Church, the only hope arises, that the youth of France may escape being brought into bonds by both! Such struggles, if not the happiest means, are, perhaps, the surest earnests, of liberty! When Pope and Emperor contended, then only was the breathing time for liberty,—then only was Europe free!

And this is a warning to us of prophetic menace. The ambition of the Papal see is unappeasable. The Order of Jesuits sought, by every ingenuity, to impose its yoke upon the mind of nations. It began its tam-

perings, wherever it could worm itself, with the simplicity of youth. Its aggressions soon became so daring, that Europe drove it from court and college, a hissing and by-word of beguilement and oppression. Strange is it that its treachery is so generally overlooked. Its self-inconsistency surely might be trusted to condemn it. Its boasted poverty has ever contrasted with its mighty wealth, its affected meekness with its aggrandising cupidity, its averred submission with its sovereign independence. But it is not always that power itself perceives the danger. It stoops to be the abject instrument of the Papal superstition. So is the Sorceress seen still sitting on the Beast, (the symbol of tyrannic polity,) with its head and its horns, curbing it to her will. The people succumb also. And she is beheld, therefore, sitting upon many waters, (the emblem of popular, multitudinous, interests,) ruling also their surging violence. Shall there be no end? Resign education to the national governments, and it will not be long ere the banners of every country shall be made to cringe to the Gonfalon of Rome!

The proportion of education in Italy ought to be very great. The luxuriance of the soil, the brightness of the sky, secure abundance and invite recreation. The land is full of classic monuments and archives. The people are intelligent and quick. All have some knowledge, most have some accomplishment, of art. With this fertility, this leisure, this genius, what should they not be? Look at the elementary schools, and the

numbers in them. Through the Roman States it is 1 in 50: in Lucca 1 in 53: even in Tuscany 1 in 66.

The Jesuit Institute, that ever sleepless power, now struggles to seize the mind of Europe, and to wholly direct it. The expression of an ancient General of that Order may not now be heard: "Sint ut sunt, aut non sint."* But why? Because the people are not ignorant as they were. These tricksters would reduce them to that state. It is replied, that their Professors are learned and cannot teach ignorance. But their learning, making use of the arts of knowledge, is to suppress enquiry and to sophisticate truth. "Partagez donc," cries the eloquent Quinet, "multipliez donc, le pain de l' ame; c' est une obligation pour la science aussi bien que pour la religion; car, il est certain qu' il y a une science religieuse, et une autre qui ne l' est pas. La premiere distribue, comme l' Evangile, et repand au loin ce qu' elle possedi; la seconde fait le contraire de l' Evangile. Elle craint de prodiguer, de disperser ses privileges, de communiquer le droit, la vie, la puissance, a un trop grand nombre. Elle éléve les orgueilleux, elle abaisse les humbles. Elle enrichit les riches, elle appauvrit les pauvres. C' est la science impie, et celle dont nous de voulons pas."†

* "If men continue as they are, I had rather that they should not exist at all."

† Des Jésuites, vi Leçon, de M. Quinet. "Share then, multiply then, the food of the mind: it is as much the duty of learning as it is of religion; for it is clear that there is one kind of knowledge which is religious, and that there is another which is not. The First resem-

Far be it from us to invoke vengeance upon these men, so long the curse of earth! We join not in the present cry against them. In some countries we detect a sinister policy, in others a most persecuting outrage, which prompt that cry. But their crimes must have been monstrous to have awakened so many resentments against them. What fountain of confidence have they not poisoned? What bond of slavery have they not riveted? What recesses of affection have they not violated? What schemes of melioration have they not destroyed? Never can domestic, social, civilized, man be safe while such a vigilance, itself unseen, scowls over all, and such a power, noiseless in its visitation, is every where active.

Their history is that of violent and indignant exile from every civilised land. They were banished from Venice in 1606: from Bohemia in 1618: from Naples and Brabant in 1622: from the Indies in 1623: from Russia in 1676: from Portugal in 1759: from France in 1764: from Spain in 1767: from Rome in 1773. And now France hurls them forth again!

It is not a dim pathway which leads into the glorious future. It is not by a crooked course that we can enter it. The development of national mind may be but

bles Christianity in its liberality, scattering wide its treasures; the second runs counter to the spirit of that religion. This latter is afraid of being lavish, of making common its advantages, of extending right, life, and influence, to too great a number. It exalts the proud, and casts down the lowly. It enriches the rich, and impoverishes the poor. It is an impious art, which we will not endure."

the riveting of a prejudice. Whatever isolates people from people is a mischievous partition wall. Our race is a family. We must establish the true community: the family of nations, as well as the family of man. Intercourse must be the soul of all. The road of the world is found. Its ends are made to approximate. And surely it is an ill-chosen period for nations, boasting of their educational establishments, to pervert those very establishments, that they may hoodwink credulity, cement superstition, and exasperate rancour,—seeking, under their mask and by their aid, to paralyse liberty and bind religion in chains.

We turn with humble submission and grateful delight from the institutes of man to the ordinances of God. In the laws of that religion by which He reigned before his ancients gloriously,—a polity and a church, as well as a faith,—there is no enactment which dissolves parental responsibility in the education of offspring; none which transfers it. He spake of the great ancestor of that people the encomium which contained the germ of their government: "For I know him, that he will command his children and his household after him, and they shall keep the way of the law, to do justice and judgment." This was to be the rule of transmission. "Teach them thy sons and thy sons' sons." "And thou shalt teach them diligently unto thy children, and shalt talk of them when thou sittest in thy house." "He established a testimony in Jacob, and appointed a law in Israel, which he com-

manded our fathers, that they should make them known to their children: that the generation to come might know them, even the children which should be born, who should arise and declare them to their children." "The father to the children shall make known thy truth." Not less tender and authoritative is the Christian law: "Ye fathers, bring up your children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord." "Children obey your parents in all things; for this is well pleasing unto the Lord." What spoiler shall come up, and so insult our nature,—what blasphemer shall arise, and so transform our religion,—as to alienate the rights of parentage, and the claims of childhood? The Herod may not be at hand; the cry of Ramah may not be heard; but we will not hazard the Innocents.

CHAPTER X.

ON THE MEANS AND RESOURCES OF THE COUNTRY TO PROCURE A SOUND EDUCATION FOR THE PEOPLE.

The necessity of education to the intellectual and moral completeness of man, considered in connection with his frequent inability to supply it for himself, dictates, as well as supposes, a duty on the part of other members of the social body. There is not a child playing in our streets, the most neglected and the most prematurely wicked, who does not possess the susceptibility of this mental and religious process. Already he might have been a differently inclined being. Looking at the gang of chained convicts, there is not one of those hardened spirits which this culture might not have reclaimed. Knowledge might have taught them the distinctions of right and wrong, and awakened their conscience to approve what was taught. Kindness might have softened natures, none of which were utterly, and, from the first, unfeeling. Religion might have taken hold of hearts which once trembled with awe and warmed with love. What human abasement had been spared! What fell depravity

had been arrested! What pestilential example had been withheld! What dire misery had been prevented! Such black disgrace would not have fallen on our country: such portentous evil would not have horrified our land! A duty did somewhere exist: that duty was by some parties neglected.

Nor can it be denied, that this duty has a serious aspect on society. "Qui non recté instituunt atque erudiunt liberos, non solum liberis sed et reipublicæ faciunt injuriam."* It is, therefore, a social duty. All the present youth must speedily become the main support and life of the commonwealth. They must impress its movements. They must be the political constituency. They must form the mind of another generation of youth. They will soon have passed the great lines of manhood. Many a social duty exists, however, apart from the ruling power. We prejudge not now the determination of the question. We only protest against any wresting of the term. Social and political duties are not necessarily convertible. The political must be social, but the social need not be political.

Eleemosynary instruction does not seem to have been thought of by the ancients. Their religion taught them no principle of charity. Where there was no hospital for bodily disease, no asylum for bereavement and destitution, it was scarcely to be expected

* "They who do not train and instruct aright their children, as greatly injure the State as their offspring."—Cicero.

that the school should be conceived and supported by the existing benevolence. Thus Plutarch, in his Bringing up of Children, exclaims: "It is my highest wish, that the blessing of education should be extended to all; but if there be any who, from their straitened circumstances, cannot avail themselves of my recommendations, let them blame their hard lot, but not my advice. For the very poor ought to do their utmost to obtain for their children the best education, and if they cannot command this, let them seek the best within their power."*

We feel that the duty of providing education does not only rest upon the parents: but that, when they are too ignorant to conduct, too occupied to inspect, too poor to compensate, the education of their offspring, the duty of assisting them falls upon others. This duty belongs to that large class of morals, which includes the love of our neighbour. It is written on the second table of the Law.

The illustration is simple. Whenever there is misery, the Christian feels that it is his duty, according to his ability, to afford relief. We look not to the State for the support of our infirmaries and fever-houses and mendicity-societies. They depend upon voluntary contributions. Should it be said that edu-

* "Εγω γαρ μαλισα αν βουλοιμην πασι κοινη χρησιμον ειναι την αγωγην. Ει δε τινες ενδεως τοις ιδιοις πραττοντες, αδυνατησουσι τοις εμοις χρησασθαι παραγγελμασι, την τυχην αιτιασθωσιν, ου τον ταυτα συμβουλευοντα." κ. τ. λ.—Plut: Περι παιδων Αγωγην.

cation cannot expect the same sympathy, we answer, that there is no object of more fitting commiseration than the "child left to himself." Should it be insinuated that it is precaution, rather than sympathy, which induces us to stem infection and pauperism,—it might be well replied, that there are no consequences more threatening than those of ignorance. If this be an evil and a mischief, the obligation weighs upon all to abate and overcome it. Policy and self-interest may, also, not be inoperative in the determination of this conduct.

The benefit of education, to every class of mind, has been by some doubted. They have discovered, in the unlettered, the vein of excellent sense. They have found a manly understanding and sagacity: "Rusticus, abnormis sapiens, crassâque Minervâ."* They have known the self-vindication of genius. It has grown up in a wild and rank luxuriance. They doubt whether the hardy mind of the first case would not be enfeebled by discipline: whether the independence and bloom of the second instance would not be compressed by rules and arts. But how often do both furnish occasions and specimens of this very want! The masculine vigour is dogmatic, abrupt, vain, supercilious, overbearing. The intellectual quality, which the sudden and powerful æstus denotes, and which men call genius, becomes wayward, self-willed, indolent,

* "A peasant, who is a philosopher ignorant of the rules, and with a blunt mother-wit."—Horat: Sat: lib. ii. 2.

vicious. Neither are directed from without. In the one is a churlish dictatorship: in the other is an eccentric riot. Education would have given to the staid and sober intellect principles, maxims, tastes, impulses, which would have doubled its influence and power for guidance and for good. Education would have trained the soaring instinct of the more vivid and subjective intellect, with all its mysterious affinities and yearnings, teaching its track and balancing its flight. It is an idle prejudice, that it can injure any. It is a cruel misanthropy which would deny that it is a boon of inestimable value for all!

"Doctrina sed vim promovet insitam,
Rectique cultus pectora roborant."*

* "Education awakes the innate power of the mind, and high cultivation confirms it."—Horat: Carm: lib. iv. 4.

The following illustrative Speech is preserved. It contains the true sublime. It was spoken by the first Civil Engineer in the world, George Stephenson. That man is little to be envied who can read it without admiring tears. The occasion of its delivery, was the Opening of the Newcastle and Darlington Railway, on Tuesday, June 18th, 1844. He and others had travelled from London to the former town (300 miles) that morning. Well might he be called to celebrate such a triumph over resistance and space and time!

"Mr. Chairman and Fellow-townsmen—In rising to return thanks for the kind manner in which my health has been proposed and drunk, I am too sensible of my incompetency to acknowledge the compliment as it deserves. You will, however, forgive me all my imperfections, well knowing that I have no talent for speaking. But as the hon. member has referred to the engineering efforts of my early days, it may not be amiss if I say a few words to you on that sub-

We all perceive that any interference with our charitable institutions,—whatever should destroy their spontaneousness and self-government, must tend to their subversion. Their end would not only be in danger of defeat, but the moral character of the nation would suffer total eclipse. That perennial spring of kindness and pity, which now sends forth such abundant and healing streams, would be sealed. The bands of society would be burst asunder. Our civic life would be wholly transformed. All pity would be a

ject, more especially for the encouragement of my young professional friends. Mr. Liddell has truly told you that, in my early days, I worked at an engine in a coal pit. I had then to work early and late, often rising to my labour at one and two o'clock in the morning. Time rolled on, and I had the happiness to make some improvements in engine-work. The first locomotive that I made was at Killingworth Colliery, and with Lord Ravensworth's money. Yes! Lord Ravensworth and Co. were the first parties that would entrust me with money to make a locomotive engine. That engine was made thirty-two years ago. I said to my friends that there was no limit to the speed of such an engine, provided the works could be made to stand. In this respect great perfection has been reached, and, in consequence, a very high velocity has been attained. In what has been done under my management, the merit is only in part my own. I have been most ably assisted and seconded by my son. In the earlier period of my career, and when he was a little boy, I saw how deficient I was in education, and made up my mind that he should not labour under the same defect, but that I would put him to a good school, and give him a liberal training. I was, however, a poor man; and how do you think I managed? I betook myself to mending my neighbours' clocks and watches at night after my daily labour was done; and thus I procured the means of educating my son. He became my assistant and my companion. He got an appointment as under reviewer, and

vice, and all relief a circumvention of legislative design. We revolt at the consummation which rises upon us. Let us not see this ruin of our Country! Its sun could not set in a darker night!

But it will be contended, that education is not to be classed with ordinary charities. It is to stand out as an exception. It is a more solemn and difficult duty. It is the proper business of the government. It must not be left to private hands. On this opinion we offer the following animadversions.

at nights we worked together at our engineering. I got leave to go to Killingworth to lay down a railway at Hetton, and next to Darlington; and after that I went to Liverpool, to plan a line to Manchester. I there pledged myself to attain a speed of ten miles an hour. I said I had no doubt the locomotive might be made to go much faster, but we had better be moderate at the beginning. The directors said I was quite right; for if, when they went to Parliament, I talked of going at a greater rate than ten miles an hour, I would put a cross on the concern. It was not an easy task for me to keep the engine down to ten miles an hour, but it must be done, and I did my best. I had to place myself in that most unpleasant of all positions—the witness-box of a Parliamentary committee. I could not find words to satisfy either the committee or myself. Some one enquired if I were a foreigner, and another hinted that I was mad. But I put up with every rebuff, and went on with my plans, determined not to be put down. Assistance gradually increased—improvements were made every day—and to-day a train, which started from London in the morning, has brought me in the afternoon to my native soil, and enabled me to take my place in this room, and see around me many faces which I have great pleasure in looking upon. Friends and fellow-townsmen, I thank you most heartily for your kind reception, and wish you every happiness this world can afford."

We repeat our protest against all attempts to disseize parents of their rights in their children. The everlasting statutes of nature forbid the rapine. However flattered and extenuated, the act is outrage. Disguised as it may be, it is odious tyranny. It is treason against the sympathies of the universe.

Nor are we less strenuous in our resistance of compulsory education as a wrong to all liberty. Short-sighted are they who would abridge, or suspend, this, for a greater good. There is no greater good! There can be no greater good! It is not a simple means, it is an end. And is it not the most trenchant despotism to take any human mind,—added to the injustice and robbery of alienating it from that charge to which Providence and Nature have entrusted it,—and to adjudge what knowledge it shall, or shall not, receive?

And it is only a covert mode of exercising the same interference, when benefits are attached to those who yield to it, and, of course, disadvantages follow to those who refuse. The far-reaching eye of the legislator and the philosopher sees here no trifling injustice. Persecution may consist in withholding privilege, as well as in inflicting suffering. Not only does it operate in outraging person and property, but in abstracting or lessening the advantages which another direction of opinion might have secured. Every man in this country is visited with it, who, because of peculiar religious conviction, is denied perfect equality with others; or who, in consequence, is refused his share of any *public*

and *national* benefits, to which he, in common with others, pays his support. It is quite time to give up such narrow sets of ideas. The most negative injury, — any depression in society, — any passing by, — any slight, — any postponement, — for conscience sake, is persecution. The administration of such a law cannot fall equally. The encouragement to education, by any penal disabilities on its neglect, is the civil proscription of those who never enjoyed its means. Men are treated as responsible, who were not free agents. Calamity is condemned for guilt. It is still more unrighteous. It visits the grievance on a mental state as crime. Any direction of law is absurd which cannot be pursued. Where could you stop? You punish the uneducated mind. What other mental habits and conditions will you punish? "Be just," is the rule of our Constitution. To delay and withhold justice is its violation. But if only a class were entitled to it, would it not be a base desertion, a monstrous abandonment, of that charter which decrees equal protection to the life, property, and liberty, of all?

On the same ground, a Literate qualification for electoral rights in the commonwealth, must be condemned. The man has not sinned, but his parents. The stimulus comes too late for personal improvement. But while we deem such a proposal as utterly unjust, what a stigma is it, and what ruin may it bring, that the power of voting for the legislature, the true sovereignty, of the land, is often associated with the rudest

ignorance! What country can be safe, whose freedom is thus entrusted to the custody of vulgar stolidity and prejudice! Such brute power can only be expected to exercise itself in the most dangerous extremes. Like the shifting ballast of the storm-tossed vessel, it is sure to be propelled to the wrong side.

A principle is worthless which cannot be carried out. If the principle, involved in our present question, be, that education is the province of government, then are subjects to be regarded indifferently in its application. Having houses and fields, or not having them, —the one rule applies. These are but accidents: they leave the principle what, and where, it was. If it be, however, intended to make it only concern them who will not perform the duty themselves, the inference is fatal. Then it was not the original duty of government, but one that has lapsed to it. Another inference is as necessary, that when parents will resume it, the duty reverts to them unprejudiced and unimpaired.

It is easy to say that the danger is only problematic, that it is but a possible abuse. All danger should be guarded, all abuse should be counteracted. We ought to be prepared for the worst. Nothing can be right and good, which, *of itself*, can be made the means of injury and the subject of perversion. The cause is evil which contains these evil seeds and powers. It is easy to say that the suggestion of this possible turn of events is a breach of justice and charity, that it cannot be offered without the imputation of the

most criminal motives. All this may shock the simpering flatterers of fashionable opinion: it may stay the course of them who covet the honours of an equivocal candour at the cost of the rewards, unearthly and distant, which await the upright. It is easy to demand of us, What ground have we to suspect the principles of men whose political station is high, and whose social sphere removes them far from every corrupt influence and sinister consideration? We are not scared by all this loud passion, all this towering indignance, this "Ercles' vein." The civil constitution, under which we live, teaches us that no man is to be trusted. It exempts none, it protects none, from doubt and jealousy, because of certain character and condition. It endures no instance, no plea, no grade, of irresponsibility. Every man is under bail and recognizance and oath to it. It holds light as air, and cheap as dust, all individual professions. It knows no man's person. It takes no man's word. Its genius is that of wholesome scrutiny and precaution. It will be secured. Talk not, then, to us of casting slur and slight upon public men. We abandon the spirit and the rule of our constitution the moment we give credit to men beyond their measures and their liabilities. With the tendency of what they do, we have as much concern as with the naked deed itself. Gladly we acquit motive when we can: but motive may be detected through the transparence of tendency. Capacity for good is capacity for evil. Vigilant and searching ought to be all our investiga-

tions. It is an honest thing to diffide. The withholdment of our confidence is neither ungenerous nor unjust. And are not consequences of incomparably greater value to us than forms of present politeness and courtesy? We allow no occasion, in the sharpest severity, for rudeness. We hate invective and scurrility. Our "purpose is necessary, and not envious."* But whenever we mark a tendency, we must forecast a result. We cannot find resting-place between. The pause is nothing, seen or unseen, a result is begun. Posse and Esse are to us but one. And when any great bodies, political or ecclesiastical, have acquired the law to educate the people,—enforced by the sanctions, and subsidised by the resources, of the State,—what can alter the tendency, what can arrest the result? Must not both agree in the kind and limit of that education? Will any body seek an education which may hazard it? Whatever are its principles, will it not do all to wind them into the public mind? Can it be otherwise in disposition or in effect? Change human nature, regenerate it by religion, and our fears are only decreased. Infirmity of judgment, partiality of feeling, will cleave to it still. But in its present too common order of things, such a power, simple or composite, is a frightful thing. It is so minute in its penetration, it is so bold in its assumption, as only to be compared to some fabled Polypus of the Deep, with its vast and innumerable antennæ, drawing insatiably

* Shakspeare. Julius Cæsar.

into itself alike the drifted sea-weed and the stateliest ship. Consequences do not unfold themselves at once. It is folly to wait for them. Tendencies are consequences. Crush the egg. Uproot the seed. Utter bold denouncement against the principle. Else shall we be miserably deceived. Men are plausible. Concessions are liberal. None begin tyrants. Exclusiveness is rather shamefaced at the first. But the tyrant grows. Exclusiveness soon becomes the saintly virtue. Agent and plan, may not, indeed, always meditate their own conclusion. They are formed and fashioned by their course. We must, therefore, resolutely stand upon this preparatory ground: Whither do the principles incline, and the circumstances tend?

Let the State leave the good work of Education alone. Let it not tamper with it. It is rapidly extending. Fuel has, ere now, stifled the fire,—support has riven the arch,—and buttress has thrown down the wall. All popular opinion and information, which is wholesome and enduring, is self-generative. Interference is no longer honourable. It is to claim the glory of an independent Work. When Douglas beheld his rival, Randolph, and a little band, overwhelmed with numbers, he rushed to his aid. But seeing that he had already extricated himself, and beaten back the foe,—the generous warrior bade his men to hold and halt. He cried,—"They have delivered themselves: let us not lessen their victory by affecting to share it." Interference is now as ungracious as it is unnecessary.

Government meddling comes too late either for help or for renown.

There is a freedom, an efficiency, in voluntary education which that of government cannot show. There is in the former an action, a play, of mind, In the other there may be compactness and uniformity, but it is unintelligent and unliving. The compulsory aid is foreign, and stifles rather than sustains. Nature only works from within. Alexander may desire to serve Diogenes, but he can only do so by standing out of his light.

We are commonly pressed with the argument, that a government is always far above the people in purpose and information. If this statement can be established, there might be much plausibility in the assumption of the educational function by the State. It is the fault of the people if it do not lend all its intelligence and virtue to its executive. But when other kinds of rule prevail, the statement is not so demonstrable. They who are the quiet of the land will feel it a very dubious policy to disturb an order of things which generally works for the benefit of the subject. In the mean time, they may see much that they regret. An undercurrent of knowledge and religion may flow on far purer than that which is more prominent and extolled. If the people be always inferior, how is it that their suffrage is so commonly sought and their censure so commonly dreaded? The image of Pasquin in later Rome, frequently bore the epigram and lampoon which

made its Conclave and Inquisition to turn pale. In truth, governments mistake as the community never can. They are more precipitate, and therefore cannot check haste. They are more timid, and therefore cannot chide fear. They are more isolated, and therefore cannot resist prejudice. They are more privileged, and therefore cannot understand opinion. But we ask,—little afraid of contradiction,—Where is there such strange delusion, touching the state of the people, as in cabinets and senates? Where are such egregious blunders spoken, in regard to the religion of different denominations, as in parliament? Does *our* government lead? Is it not, almost invariably, the last to perceive any political question, the last to allow any moral appeal? Did it, of itself, as going before the times,—strike the fetters from conscience, reform the representation, abolish slavery, and revise the criminal code? Does it precede the national mind in repealing the taxes upon knowledge? We scarcely blame this tardiness of governments: we can account for it: perhaps it is inevitable. They were never, in the nature of things, intended to be pioneers. But we do reprehend their fawning parasites. It is better for governments to follow a people, than for a people to follow governments. Their leadership we deprecate and disown.

It is, therefore, in vain to affirm, that government is the most competent to teach. The largest systems of instruction in the land are now independent of it. Dare it direct or advise the studies of the Universities?

Has it not been made to feel the independence of the trustees of foundation schools? The competency of a government to teach, ought rather to be called its tendency and temptation to enslave. Let it prepare all the lessons, appoint all the masters, commission all the inspectors, of one great scholastic institute, and it marshals at pleasure the nation's mind and the country's conscience. The people are bound hand and foot: the iron eats into their soul.

No doubt can exist, that the general notion that every State should establish some religion, has lent great strength to the dogma, that it should provide some education. It is not our assigned task to uphold or contest that notion. But we must not be compelled to suspend upon what is undebated, upon an impounded question, upon an exempt case, any proposition, as though its affirmation were proved. Nor do we regard the propositions as equipollent. Most different religions have, in some countries, been established at the same time, and yet were wholly regulated among themselves, without any State control. So every educational system might be established, and yet without government superintendence. The probability is, however, that any executive power, in its religious and educational establishments, will expect to dispense some patronage, to acquire some influence, and also to receive some report. We can scarcely think that it will ask no political return: the least which it may be supposed to demand, is a general inquisition into the

schools that it sustains. This is a just demand. But it is, also, an infant tyranny.

The question is now made one of means. It is pronounced to be an absurd idea, that private benefactions can reach the malady. The ignorance of our country is represented to be its darkest reproach. With what truth the charge is brought against us, we must leave the previous statements to settle. But of this we are confident, that were that charge of ignorance just, better would it be to retain our ignorance, than to lose our liberty! Knowledge is acquired at too dear a rate, if slavery be its price! We see a better future in the one predicament than in the other. Liberty will presently destroy ignorance, but slavery will still sooner extinguish knowledge.

> "'T is Liberty alone that gives the flower
> Of fleeting life its lustre and perfume;
> And we are weeds without it. *All constraint*,
> Except what wisdom lays on evil men,
> Is evil; *hurts* the *faculties*, impedes
> Their progress in the road of science; blinds
> The eyesight of Discovery; and begets,
> In those that suffer it, a sordid mind
> Bestial, a meagre intellect,—
> . . . . . .
> Thee I account still happy, and the chief
> Among the nations, seeing thou art free;
> My native nook of earth! . . . I could endure
> Chains no where patiently; and chains at home,
> Where I am free by birthright, not at all."*

* Cowper. Task, book v.

We are really encouraged, by certain opinions from high places, verdicts almost new, certainly those which, until now, we have not heard. The Premier of Great Britain said, so recently as the 19th of July, 1844:— "As to the institution of libraries in the towns of this country, he thought the obligation of the rich in each district to provide such establishments was so strong, that the public purse ought not to be laid under contribution for this object." This is exactly our principle: it yet lags a little: but it is travelling in the right direction. It is our very argument: it needs but a more consistent expansion and application.

The question of ability is really not the question of principle. If it be asserted, that the funds of private benevolence are insufficient to educate the nation, the difficulty does not exclusively embarrass this matter. Christians, and Christian churches, see that many great effects are to be secured. They possess not the means. They look to the God whose are the gold and the silver. They cannot invoke any unholy alliance. In him is their help. But if the principle shifted with the means of carrying it out, we should soon find a hopeless check. We would Christianise the country with a system of purely evangelic means! We cannot do it, or, at least, it is said that we cannot. Are we to court worldly measures and resources? Are we to abandon the design to worldly men? In all such cases we are to do what we can. "For if there be, first, a willing mind, it is accepted according to that a man

hath, and not according to that he hath not." If particular districts be marked as those which can neither originate nor sustain schools, the argument is larger than the instance supposed. The member of the Establishment may most consistently use it. But how is it "fitted" in a Dissenter's "lips?" Would he say that, in places which could not maintain their own temples and services, government should uphold them? Is not the appointment and sustentation of instruction in religion an establishment, as far as it goes, of that religion? The supposed inability of any men, distributively or collectively considered, to do any thing to its utmost success, can be no reason for not doing it to the utmost of their capacity: and reason cannot be offered, by that partial failure, for the interposition of the very aid which, in all the most cognate relations and their most notable failures, is sternly refused.

Our country indisputably contains a hundred-fold of the wealth that would be required. There is one aspect in which such redundance stands forth with disgusting contrast to this appropriation of it. We pronounce no judgment, whether it be necessary or not, but we can only mourn to see the land covered with an army and a police. Every where force and defence are made to appear. Law and government grasp a rod of iron. The cannon, the sabre, the bayonet, the staff, wait for action. Prisons fill our landscapes and overhang our towns. How frightful must the morals of the people be to need this ever-present defiance and

array! What enlightened and benevolent citizen does not desire that this expenditure could be otherwise directed, that moral means might be substituted for those of violent repression and avengement, that prevention might supersede the punishment of crime, that the mind of that body which is now manacled might have been rightly instructed, that the heart of that convict now driven forth from society might have been touched and won! What plans of peace would this treasure have ripened! What foundations of order, loyalty, and obedience, would it have laid! Soldiers and constables would have been exchanged for teachers: barracks and prisons would have been turned to schools: the outcasts of our penal settlements would have adorned their homes: the scaffold would have resigned its wretches for honoured life and dying triumph. We ask not this sum from the Exchequer,—we crave its erasure from the Budget: we would not receive it from the Treasury,—we would refuse it to the Ways and Means.

But where will be the impossibility of supporting, from private funds, that extension of education which we all desire? We are told, that the State alone can do it. There is a mystery of finance in this which we cannot unravel. How can the State raise the amount? Is it not to be raised upon the people? Is the inability in that integral amount, in its very self, until it has passed into the public coffers? Does it there acquire its potency and fulness? A very small effort,

small when weighed against the property of the nation, will suffice.

If the work be doing, if a great portion of it be adequately done, why should it be transferred to the government of our land? Are not its pecuniary obligations, at present, sufficiently heavy? Are not its inventive powers of supply well-nigh exhausted? Are not its duties and departments already too multifarious? The governments of great nations exhibit a reserve of legislation. The petty state is always addicted to its vexatious excess. "Plurimæ leges, corruptissima respublica."* The freer the people, the less they leave the State to do.

And large impulses and movements prove that the nation, undirected and unaided by government, now ponders its responsibility and awakens its strength towards this undertaking. The National School Society has made its call, and the splendid answer of court, aristocracy, hierarchy, demonstrates that it needs no revenue but the good will of its members. The British and Foreign School Society is beginning to receive a new consideration of its long neglected claims and ungratefully requited efforts, while its patrons and supporters feel the exigent demand upon their utmost help. The Wesleyan Methodists throw all behind by a glorious suretyship of hundreds of thousands for future years. The Dissident Bodies are in consultation,—many of them in action,—to enlarge and strengthen

* Tacitus.

the basis of their well-known attempts to increase the enlightened happiness of the people. The public mind seems filled with the one idea. It will accomplish itself. It is the axle of innumerable wheels. If the plans, now inchoate, be realised,—if the operations, long since commenced, be furthered,—the stress of the case is encountered and the wants of the nation will be satisfied.

It is the concession of one who has pleaded very strongly for a National Scheme of Education, but who has evidently felt its difficulty, if not its utter fallacy, at every advancing footstep,—it is the concession even of Lord Brougham himself,—"We have now a right to conclude against any general interference of the Legislature, until the offerings of individuals shall be found to be insufficient, and the seminaries they have established shall be seen going to decay."*

* Speech in the House of Peers, 1837.

"My own opinion has long been that no government in this country can succeed in devising a measure for the general education of the people. The principle being admitted that all who pay the taxes are to be benefited by their expenditure, it would not be possible to adopt a system of education on Church principles, since that would exclude Dissenters. On the same principle it would be impossible to have an essentially Protestant education, since that would exclude Roman Catholics;—but the same principle would prevent any measure for a *Christian* education, even admitting the designation to be applicable to some systems which would exclude all the articles of the Christian faith and all the doctrines of the Christian religion; since the very name of Christianity is offensive to tax-paying Infidels."—Letter of Rev. W. F. Hook, D. D., Vicar of Leeds, in the British Magazine, October, 1842. See also the Charge of Archdeacon Wilberforce, 1843.

The Parliamentary grant, not equal to some royal pension, is unworthy of the cause which it is designed to promote. It should be declined. Both the Societies, which now partake and distribute it, should feel that their voluntary support makes them too independent to accept such boon. If it be for hire, the service and the wages are ignoble. The manner of the dole is as objectionable. It is a lure. A half is given where the other half is raised. This may appear, in its proportion, just. But even thus regarded, it is partial. Poverty, in the competition, has no power against wealth. Its terms are too high for the one, its largesses too inconsiderable for the other. But were it as munificent as it is mean, there are many who must refuse it. The interdict is not on all. They who contend that religion should be established by the State, may be consistent in receiving support from the same quarter for education. But they who have all along denounced that principle, must not now palter with it. It is not for them to say that there is no compromise if there be no stipulation. If religion be the smallest element in their ideas of education, they would receive, in the state support, the establishment of their religion. They would enjoy that particular use of the Public Money which others of their countrymen, who were equally taxed for it, could not enjoy. For it is a perfect dream that it can be given unconditionally. The dignitaries of the Established Church have already been obliged to make humbling condi-

tions of submission and peace to the Council Board. They have not forfeited consistency. But if Dissenters accept the pay of government, if they do not firmly and inflexibly abjure it in all shapes and pretexts, their prevarication will cover them with infamy. All will be remembered against them which they have said and which they have done. They will be set for public scorn. They cannot touch stipend or gift, and their hands be clean. The moment they take it, the most important grounds of private judgment and uprightness are abandoned. The whole question on which they have stood for the higher spirituality of the church is trodden under foot. Their boast of freedom is shamed. Their character of sincerity is confounded. They will deserve to be reviled for hypocrisy,—the mummers of principle, the swashers of conscience! They will be indeed abased. They will have yielded to a bribe, while their fathers shrunk not from the death. The mark of servitude will be burnt deep into their brow. They will have stooped their neck to the yoke. They will have passed beneath the Caudine Forks.

It is surely a little strange that this elementary principle and necessary conclusion of Protestant Nonconformity, should have been, not without some pains at wit, though with a sparing abstinence of argument, described as altogether new. There is always suspicion attached to the untried opinion. Its supposed singularity brings it into contempt. This can be only the conduct of prejudice. The question, whether it be one

of antiquity or of the instant, may be alike worthy of consideration. How can, then, the objection to the extension of the national revenue for religious purposes be accounted novel? The two thousand ejected ministers who threw themselves upon the Dissenters of this country for fellowship and support, may not have abandoned the Established Church because they thought that, *a priori*, the establishment of any church was wrong. But they were not the founders of Nonconformity: they fled only to its sanctuary. Its records are of a higher epoch. Its fathers denounced every civil incorporation of Christianity. If the contrary doctrine has been ever breathed by those who claim to be their descendants, theirs is the embarrassment of the experimental, the problematic, the abrupt, the inventive. They are the Discoverers. Why should the sneer of a new and sudden illumination be indulged? The support of religion by the State is the objection of the Dissenter. Without recanting that objection, how could he accept aid in support of religious education? It does not render his consistency with this rudiment the less close and imperative, because he has not attentively meditated upon every application of it until now. When had he the opportunity? When was he called to refuse? He always knew and held the principle: the offer of patronage and assistance has not been his frequent temptation to forget it. You may try to involve him in sudden deviation from his course. What is the pretext for this charge? He has been associated

with the British System, whose normal schools public grants have sustained. But that is not a Dissenting Institute. He has enrolled himself in it as a patriot and a Christian. He owned a heart larger than his denomination. It may be that he has regretted such grant, employed his influence to dissuade its acceptance, and generously contributed in order to do away with the ground of necessity on which it was pleaded. It was not for him to control the convictions of others, the friends of liberty, the best men of the land.—It has been said that Dissenters already received Parliamentary endowment. This refers to the Regium Donum, a sum of less than £2000., voted annually for the relief of poor Dissenting Ministers. But a large majority desire that this may cease. Nor is the charge founded on a just analogy. When the princes of the Hanoverian dynasty acceded to the throne of these realms, they felt themselves so greatly indebted to the influence of the Protestant Nonconformists, that they determined to mark their sense of it by a royal bounty. The donative was bestowed from their own privy purse. The Civil List was an exchange and satisfaction for sacrifices which this Royal Line was prepared to make of certain fiefs and revenues. Specific payments were transferred from the Royal Family to the State. Gifts and dotations, aforetime free and personal, were now undertaken by the legislature. This donative was one among the rest. The Monarch no more gives it but the Parliament. But he is supposed to have vested in

its Houses a full equivalent, and to have assigned for this purpose an adequate provision. It is still described as his bounty. The acceptance of it as his bounty could be no compromise of the strictest Dissent. He has paid over this bounty in perpetuity. It is a rent-charge. It is the burden on a particular estate. The Dissenter might well wish to be rid of it. Nevertheless, it is only righteous to say, that it stands on specific grounds. It cannot in fairness be confounded with any subsequent or future grant. It cannot contradict or perplex the consistency of any who repudiate all State aid for the administration of religion. Nonconformists, in this repudiation, follow no new light. The error has been to quote as their prototypes Howe, Baxter, and Owen, rather than Robinson and Ainsworth, Thacker and Penry, Barrowe and Greenwood, Rough and Simpson, those earlier confessors, exiles, and martyrs, those original standard-bearers against any concession to this principle. The antiquity of their opinion proves nothing for it: but it purges them of any *innovation!*

It may be observed, that the strictest Nonconformist need not object to Regium Donum. If "kings bring presents," it is only a discharge of their personal duty. Some might fear a possible evil influence, but this would be only the abuse of what, in itself, was right. Potentates need not expect any power in return. It is to Parliamentary subsidies that the obligation refers. That is wrested from public property contri-

buted for no such ends. There is an unevenness and an injustice in the appropriation. The two questions ought to be kept quite distinct. Kings have a perfect right to give of their own, — their peculium, — senates have no right to distribute, with an obvious partiality, that which alike belongs to all, which is raised from all, which is intended for all!

Convinced of the exaggerations which have gone forth, concerning the condition of education in this country, and especially in the manufacturing districts, —persuaded that when the matter shall be more investigated, much of the present alarm will pass away, — assured, that when new schools are erected, and larger schemes of instruction are applied, the principal difficulty will be to obtain pupils, — we are equally impressed with the necessity of informing and exciting the public mind upon the duty of seeing to the edution of the people.

Agricola, when the Governor of this Island, commenced the attempt to educate the natives in liberal learning. He first essayed his experiment on the children of the chiefs. The "ingenia" of the Britons were found to excel those of the Gauls. The Latin language was cultivated; and the Roman civilization assumed. That was in 80th year of the Christian æra. We are now in the nineteenth century. Had that experiment proceeded until now! Had education been still the ambition of our people! With all that interval of time, with every subsequent means of light and improve-

ment, what would ancient Albion now be, and what would have been the gianthood of its intellect !*

And it is the clear obligation of every man who loves his God, his neighbour, and his country, to advance the benefits of education. There is no method of benevolence more requisite, more useful, more enduring. It affects universal interests. "The wise child" is the future patriot and saint. The spirit is touched and moulded when it can be most easily shaped and directed. "The golden bowl" is filled from "the fountain." You lay up an inheritance of principle and of example for a boundless hereafter.

But while it is our social, as well as our individual, duty to extend these advantages, Christians are found in other bonds. They are collected into churches and communities. A new power accrues from this relation. Their influence is greatly multiplied. Every measure of well-doing commends itself to them in this capacity. To gather pecuniary income for secular charities is very appropriate and honourable to them: but religion is their first care. They are set for the defence and diffusion of the gospel, at home and abroad. And is not education, comprehensive as it is of all temporal and eternal good, a work which they should encourage? Have not many of our churches and communities forgotten this purpose and betrayed this trust?

Among the resources which will be most effectual in the maintenance of education, is the true indepen-

* Tacitus. Agric: Vit:

dent feeling of the poor. Parents, who know what is the happiness of education, who, in consequence of it, have acquired the principle and habit of virtue, will always prize the opportunity which may present itself of bestowing it upon their children. For this, however scanty may be their means, they will cheerfully contribute. "Out of deep poverty they will abound to the riches of liberality." It is a dubious policy to make any school entirely free. But be that as it may, the time is coming when the plea of an apparent necessity shall not be urged. The negligence and apathy which gratuitous offers are often designed to cheat, shall not be known. And then shall be created the true fund of education. It may be aided still,—but not as an alms. The free-will offerings, the cheerful payments, of the poor themselves, will form a store of wealth. It will be of the best kind. It will be followed by the most living influence. There is nothing visionary in the hope. Six years have passed since it was put on record, that 1,120,000 children attended the day schools of the country, besides the pupils of endowed schools. How many of these paid for their education? We find no less amount than this, that 730,000 were thus self-sustained, nearly double the number of those who had depended upon assistance from others.

It is impossible to express the injury which may be done to the moral feelings of the country, by the governmental provision for its wants. A sense of sur-

feit, sickly and depressed, follows such a course of preparation. Let hunger seek its food to enjoy it. Let ignorance feel its need of instruction to pursue it. The cases, indeed, are not parallel. The one is instinctive and essential to merest life: the other is intellectual, and knows no such gnawing pang. But the lesson is the same. Man values nothing but that for which he must deny and exert himself. Give to any people the means of gratuitous education. Make it known and declare it urgent. Your first difficulty will be its general disesteem and slight. The parent thinks it a favour to accept it for his child. He feels in its acceptance a certain degradation. It is a pauper-dole. He does not educate! He, by the discipline of his family, acquires no self-respect! Or, should it be enforced, his position is not raised. He is the more jealous of its motive and design. Simple benevolence falls not within the scope of governments. Why does it now offer aid? What does it now propose? There are great searchings of heart. Is it to raise the national mind to independence? Is it to kindle it with the inspirations of freedom? We may be advised and we may be assured that, in this country, education at the cost of the State, or rather by the exaction of the people, will never be welcomed as a boon. Coercion cannot be supposed in such a case. Let the officer of police be seen dragging the peasant's child from its home to school, let the recusant parent be declared to be under the forfeiture of all relief from the

funds provided for the poor, and a revolution would not wait an hour's delay. What was the odious Ship-Money to this? "The Village Hampden" would be warranted to rise, and his "dauntless breast" could never know a more approved courage. We could not wish to survive that overthrow of patriotism and of liberty. We should have lived long enough to have been spared the spectacle of our people's shame and our country's ruin!

That "bold peasantry," which we signalise as our "nation's pride," is yet to be understood. Treat men as just and generous, and you both awaken those emotions and confirm them. Oppress them and think of them as a servile tribe, and you will verify your estimate. Against constant scowl and taunt, no class of men can long contend. Deprive virtue of its rewards, and it dies. Forbid any room for its exercise, and its attempts are wanting. The working of the Poor Law,—a noble institution in itself,—has pauperised the feeling of the humbler class. Once the bounty upon idleness, a sudden check in its administration has driven the industrious to despair. A medium, a juste milieu, is required. Local government will be the safest and kindest correction. Let not its strings be pulled from afar, by an invisible and irresponsible divan: let each Union be its own centralization. And then shall our hardy, patient, noble, character appear again to the nations. The people shall reflect it. The olden race shall be seen. Yet not rugged in hardi-

ness, not sullen in patience, not reckless in generosity, as were their fathers. Knowledge shall but complete the strength. The granite may be as solid, though it is polished. The gold may be as sterling, though it is wrought. And in nothing shall we hail that return, that perihelion, of the national character, more than in its recovered independence. We believe the day is not distant, when the blessings of education shall be so universally appreciated that the very poor, out of the retrenchments of frugality and the savings from vice, shall proudly send forth their offspring to the school which they have assisted to build, which they love, in some leisure moment, to inspect; and which shall only be the more commended to their support, when their children shall no longer attend it, that it made them the good servants and the useful relatives whom their dim eyes still fondly watch, the comforters of their sinking age and the heirs of their humble name. The earnings of the poor have long since been the absolute life-resource of Christianity: we depend upon them, more than any other auxiliary, for the prop of general education.

It has been nobly said by Bacon: "Antiquity deserveth that reverence, that men should make a stand thereupon, and discover what is the best way; but when the discovery is well taken, then to make progression. And to speak truly, *antiquitas sæculi juventus mundi*.* These times are the ancient times, when

* "The old age of time is the youth of the world."

the world is ancient, and not those which we account ancient, *ordine retrogrado*,* by a computation backward from ourselves." We hold the great Verulam's plea and creed. For in these anticipations we are aware that olden times are not to be our mark. We do not want the merry England which many would restore. We love the greenwood glade and the brook-circled village with an enthusiasm no less than theirs. We would stint no proper manly sports. But they would bring back servility and incuriousness, masking with revel and game. They applaud an antiquity of ignorance and of brutality. Besides, a new order of men belongs now to us. They are of British heart, but their labour is not, like that of their fathers, on the soil. They are our artificers and operatives. We can hail no condition of the people in which they are not included. Yet, strange is it, that many would relegate this race. They pray for a universal yeomanry, and would be glad to raze every factory. With admirable consistency they make a national boast of our commerce. They tell of ancient countries, Tyre and Corinth and Alexandreia, with their ports and triremes,—of Spain, with her galleons, and Venice, with her argosies,—how all are surpassed by our fleets and wares. What barter would they leave us? We know that they have secured for corn the right of export. But is it likely to be demanded, even might it be spared? What freights, for exchange is the basis and

* "In inverted order."

philosophy of commerce, must our noble barks bear forth to the world? We trade with distant marts for their products,—what are to be our returns? What have we to send? They want not our grain; we ourselves need often to go to them for it. An agricultural country cannot be commercial, but in the superabundance of its crops. If these theorists could have their will, the net of the fisherman would only be left to our wharfs, and the keels which now cleave the deep would rot on our shores.—But we hasten back from these remarks. We seek the happiness of the whole people. We set not class against class. Each is wanted. None must be proscribed. The national character has received new elements into it, and its future development must always henceforth be more mental in its stamp and more independent in its bearing. Much remains to be done: but much is doing. Verily, we believe, that our star is rising to the centre of the sky. We believe that we have begun to renew our youth. The bane is known. The antidote is applied. Our diviners are mad. Our enemies are found liars to us. Other nations wane. Surrounding empires fall.

"Meantime, the Sovereignty of these fair Isles
Remains entire and indivisible;
And, if that ignorance were removed, which acts
Within the compass of their several shores
To breed commotion and disquietude,
Each might preserve the beautiful repose
Of heav'nly bodies shining in their spheres.

The discipline of slavery is unknown
Amongst us—hence, the more do we require
The discipline of virtue; order else
Cannot subsist, nor confidence, nor peace."*

The quantity of instruction in the country is not so much an occasion for reproach, as its character. No doubt can exist, that it is in many instances deficient. It is committed to those who have no lettered and no religious qualifications for it. The system is often mechanical and cruel. This is a most important question. But it will rectify itself. Education cannot be repressed within ancient limits. And we foresee, in its certain improvement, its certain support. When the teacher shall be wholly given to it, when he shall feel the true delight of teaching, when it shall be his proper profession, when he shall not have taken it up because a bankrupt in all besides,—then, shall his qualifications secure his recompense, and men must see, in what is communicated, a good deserving their most liberal rewards.

A noble guide to the higher education of the country is found in our Grammar schools. They are not numerous, but are widely dispersed. Nicholas Carlile describes four hundred and seventy-five such foundations. They are chiefly classical, and slightly mathematical. They are not always praised to their merits. They have, perhaps, too obstinately resisted the spirit of the age. They have not sufficiently adapted them-

* Wordsworth. Excursion.

selves to mercantile and scientific instructions. But it is their honour that they have not yielded to every popular cry. They have preserved the healthy tone of a humanising literature in the country. They have been the means of opening the doors of distinction to many of the poor. They have encouraged genius and worth. We should most solemnly deprecate their descent from their present standard. Nor do we wish them less religious. They are, however, too sectarian in their general management. It is in vain to say that they are sacred trusts. How large a proportion of the educational apparatus of the land is daily modified by circumstances! How much has passed from Papal testators into the custody of those who do not, at least thus far, offer the mass and pray for the dead! Yet is not this the tenure of the property?

We think that this may tend to redeem a considerable portion of the education among us, when contrasted with its various Continental forms. We allow that many European nations anxiously support systems among them of no mean standard. The cultivation of native speech and literature,—the enforcement of arithmetical and geometric learning,—gymnastics,—music,—vary their method beyond our own. In some particulars they may excel. But we believe that they possess nothing which corresponds with this almost national feature. The great instrument and store of education, which are found in Grammar learning, no accomplishments can equipoise. In their Universities

are to be seen philologists the most sagacious: we forget not Brunck, Matthæi, Schleusner: but the people that are thus taught fall far below the same number of our countrymen who are well versed in this noble scholarship, the foundation and the grace of all. If the superfices be wider in other nations, it is at the expense of solidity: and we, perhaps, if this were the only choice, should prefer the ingot to the leaf.

There is so obvious an advantage in the instruction of the poor, that it might be expected that all good citizens would encourage it. By it alone can relative duties be understood, provident habits established, and domestic restraints approved. The wild nature only thus is tamed. The intellectual essence only thus is developed. The immortal destiny only thus is shaped. But if love of our brethren move us not, let us be determined by our fears. Education, of a terrible kind, inevitably proceeds. Men are learners, though you teach them not. In glens, in fastnesses, in forests, are to be found instructors of the most straggling tribes. Superstition, profligacy, infidelity, do not sleep. They "sit in the lurking places of the villages: their eyes are privily set against the poor. They crouch, and humble themselves, that the poor may fall by their strong ones."* In our cities and our towns there are throngs which no means seem to reach. We must be more visitorial and aggressive. "The cause which we know not we must seek out."†

* Psa. x. 8—10. † Job xxix. 16.

We ought to renew the Adult school. The passing generation should share our zeal with the rising. It is a work to task all our energies, and to reconcile all our differences. Alas, how much knowledge is there which is but power to commit, and to refine, on evil! How much is there not only to teach, but to disabuse! What lessons do the multitude need, not only to acquire, but to unlearn!

> "O miseras hominum mentes! O pectora cæca!
> Qualibus in tenebris vitæ, quantisque periclis,
> Degitur hoc ævi."*

And therefore is it that we feel the necessity of a more religious discipline. The effects of mere mental education are not lasting, however salutary. They are not parts of the character. They do not enter into the deeper recesses of the soul. They do not connect themselves with fixed ideas of moral obligation. There is no proper change of the man. Simple, speculative, knowledge restrains, of necessity, no passion,—eradicates no vice. It is the bulrush before the torrent. Whatever the strokes on the adamant, even to a thousand flaws, it is adamant still. For a time there may be arrest on immorality, a charm upon the most licentious. "In Orpheus' theatre, all beasts and birds assembled, and forgetting their several appetites, some of

* "O the unhappy spirits, the darkling views, of our race! Through what a gloomy life, amidst what frightful danger, is our age drawn out."—Lucretius.

prey, some of game, some of quarrel, stood all sociably together, listening to the airs and accords of the harp, the sound whereof no sooner ceased, or was drowned by some louder noise, but every beast returned to his own nature; wherein is aptly described the nature and condition of men, who are full of savage and unreclaimed desires of profit—of lust—of revenge; which, as long as they give ear to precepts, to laws, to religion, sweetly touched with eloquence, and persuasion of books, of sermons, of harangues, so long is society and peace maintained; but if these instruments be silent, or sedition and tumult make them not audible, all things dissolve into anarchy and confusion."* This is all that we can anticipate as the result of simple scholarship, great or small. It is a spell for the time present. But let temptation arise, and the passions of our nature stir, and such learning offers little resistance. Man reverts to what he was. He has not been changed at all. Like the creatures of this Orphean mythos, he has stood entranced at the harmonies of the bard, but when that lyre was no more swept, the animal nature has recovered its strength, and the lower instincts have returned. The higher and religious nature of man needs our first care. We, therefore, earnestly strive that the education of the people be so conducted, that it should be rested upon a true regeneration,—the expulsion of the beast,—the evocation of the saint,—the triumph of a new creature,—an effect

* Bacon. Advancement of Learning, Book i.

beyond the power of even moral means to produce, but which may only be sought in their diligent and prayerful application.

While the evil is menacing, while it is principally found in the increase of population* over means of instruction, which were recently more adequate than at present they are,—let us not be drawn away from its anxious consideration, by questions which serve but to amuse the politicians of the day. Among these is the theory of a national education. It is little esteemed by those who urge it. It is ever and anon argued to satisfy a party. Nothing is done, and none know better than they who urge it, that nothing can be done.† But it gains time. It staves off difficulty. It appeases importunity and clamour. Things remain as they are. This is what such politicians wish. They can admire Gray's Ode to Ignorance still, which the bard never completed, and which for his fame he ought not to have begun: for, satire as it is, though these Bœotians perceive it not, it is poor and tame. The guilt of the delay and of the failure, is devolved upon certain opponents. The advocates are clear, and appeal to their best, though unfortunate, efforts. Thus, the resistance of the Factory Bill, brought into Parliament

* According to the scale of past experience, we may look for an increase of two millions and a half in the next ten years.

† "From what you say, and from what I have heard from others, there is a very natural desire to trust to one or two empirical remedies, such as general education, and so forth."—Life of Sir Walter Scott. Letter to J. B. S. Morritt, Esq., Rokeby.

during the session of 1843, is ingeniously described as the resistance of a wise, comprehensive, plan to educate the poor. An argument is very commonly raised upon that resistance, that they who were active in it, are bound in a most peculiar manner to assist national education. If, indeed, they had defeated a measure which would have wrought it well, and secured it permanently, the argument would be as stringent as just. But we hold that they defeated not a true and enduring instruction of the people, but its mockery and gag. The fact is, that it proscribed the best teachers of the young, and warred, to destruction, against the best existing methods of instructing them. The entire host of those petitioners against it,—the 2,068,059 appellants to the senate to cast out a measure whose fraudulency, dissimulation, bigotry, words were never made to describe and to denounce,—saw that the intention was to stop the moral advancement of the people. He who dared this insult, under the garb of benevolence, and in the name of religion, must have grasped at honours which vizier and inquisitor had hitherto left unattempted.*

* Though the "Olive Branch" was rejected, the reader may accept it as a beautiful image of that education which a free people not only need, but will, of themselves, provide, being reminded of the description in Sophocles:

"Εξιν δ' δις εγω
Γας Ἀσιας ηκ επακουω,
Ουδ' εν τῳ μεγαλῳ Δοριδι νασω
Πελοπος ποτε βλαξον,

It is not really necessary to mention distinctly the grounds of opposition to that nefarious measure. It may suffice to say, that it was most unequal to tax those who had already made large sacrifices for education alike with those who had hitherto made none. It was, also, most invidious, laying the charge of the greater ignorance on the manufacturing population, rather than on the agricultural, the monstrous reverse of fact. It must have proved physically ruinous to the very parties whose benefit was avowedly intended, for such were its conditions, that it could but throw a very considerable portion of the children out of employment. It was defective, even in its own purpose, for it could not have reached to the fiftieth part of the youth who need instruction in the mill districts. But its un-English, its Jesuitical, features, betrayed themselves. It fell before a blast of scorn and execration. The Catiline fled amidst the storm.

In a spirit, far removed from polemical, we must declare the eternal withdrawment of another agency beside the State. The Spiritual power was a well-

> Φυτευμ' αχειρωτον αυτοποιον,
> Εγχεων φοβημα δαϊων,
> Ο τᾶδε βαλλει μαλιστα χωρα
> Γλαυκᾶς παιδοτροφου φυλλον ελαιᾶς." κ. τ. λ.

"For in our land there flourishes a plant which is unheard of in Asia, and even in Doris, that great isle of Pelops, *self-planted* and *self-produced*, defying every hostile sword, no where so healthy as in these parts, the cærulean, leafy, and youth-sustaining, Olive."—Œdipus Colon: lin. 725.

known and clearly understood idea in the dark ages. It was every where present. It held a fearful rule. It grasped universal life. It called the thunder of other worlds to its aid. At the Reformation, we only see the last and successful struggle of man to escape from it. Many had been his strong but unavailing attempts. Since then, it has not formally subsisted among Protestant people. They have shaken off the intolerable yoke. It is a tyranny passed away. Education can never be brought again beneath its bigoted and fierce control. Endeavour after endeavour may be made: but it must be impotent. The Spiritual power, as a ghostly instrument of oppression over the souls of men, has ceased. They must be as foolish as they are wicked, who can hope to revive it. Religion will only the more gain its proper influence, and her ministers stand upon their just ascendancy.

Nationalism will no more be the decoy. What mischief has the dream already done! National education, in the sense of that watchword which the oppressors of mankind love to interchange, this country can never brook. Its spirit, its character, its free institutions, are not the stems for that bitter graft. Such machinery may consist with slaves, but not with its sons. Liberty is their glory and their being. Darkness conceals all, a little light discovers only a little truth, but the full day exposes each diversity of things. Our various opinions and feelings are but as the prismatic decomposition of our intellectual and moral light. We

ask not the uniformity of dull ignorance: the monotony of rigid obsequiousness. Nationalism! It is nothing! The Nation! It is every thing! Let the leaven work in all parts. Let the light kindle from all directions. But that freedom which is our birthright, our fathers' legacy, our children's hope,—most needed in education,—shall not be immolated on the altar of such an idol-shade!

There are to be found many champions of general liberty, who, in other times, would have agreed in these opinions. They, however, think that now they see an end of the threatened danger. Their confidence is in civil liberty. They cannot fear any result of religious domination so long as we retain our free institutions. They laugh all our anxieties to scorn. Knowledge defies superstition, and the security of political rights, of consequence and of necessity, seals those still more sacred. So they reason. Thus they would quell our fears. But we must be suffered to avow most opposite conclusions.

It is an anomaly, which thrusts itself upon the consideration of mankind, that the same people may not be equally impressed with the value of civil and of religious liberty. An indifferent observer, a superficial thinker, might have supposed that these could not be disjoined. Shall the patriot stand forth to brand some "raiser of taxes," some innovator on the laws of the commonwealth touching property and exchange, and leave in his dark recess the tyrant of the soul? It is

most possible that the less outrage shall be resented, and that the greater shall be made a boast. When South America threw off the Spanish Yoke,—when her republics seemed to glow with the spirit of the purest freedom,—when the wrongs of Montezuma were promised their just redress,—intolerance was made the exception, and all liberty of religious opinion was proscribed. In Spain herself there rose a heroic band, generous, resolved, fierce as her torrents, entrenched as her hills, but the Bible must be excluded and the gospel suppressed. The priest retained his power, and superstition upheld its reign. Wherever there is the struggle for constitutional independence throughout present Europe, little of the claims of enlightened conscience is enforced. Men are in earnest about all besides. Against imposts, restrictions, imprisonments, mulcts, loudly will they plead. Jealously they watch every encroachment, firmly they repel every attack. The clank of chains jars their inward sense. All the bonds of slavery they indignantly denounce. But an Inquisition, and its familiars, they can pass without disgust. They can abandon man to spiritual despotism. The Barons of Runnymede extorted no charter, struck no blow, for private judgment and individual faith. The hardy, self-armed, peasantry of Helvetia and Tyrol asked but the liberty, defended but the right, to roam their mountain-sides, and delivered up their soul to the most fanatical debasement. And what is the struggle of Switzerland at the present mo-

ment? It has its pretexts and its masks. But it is in reality a determination to extirpate all religious liberty. The revolutions of its Protestant Cantons are all aimed at this. Intolerance is carried to its utmost extent. The very parties who have climbed to power on the most popular grounds, resolve that the Established Church shall exist alone. All other religious worship is forbidden. Even the liberty of the authorised clergy is cruelly shackled. They are interdicted the holding of any service but at the canonical hours. If there has been any gain of civil liberty, it has been at the expense of conscientious rights. Now why is it, that two blessings, so congenial, so mutually consequential, so naturally one, should be thus divided? How is it that they who esteem, and contend to blood for, the one, should neglect, and even betray, the other? Moral causes may be assigned. Man, though responsible to God, feels it not as he does his connection with man. The present is more engrossing than the future. Earth is attractive as is no after-state of being. The men who will otherwise debate all propositions, all testimonies, all terms, will servilely acquiesce in religious dogma. They do not think concerning it at all. They will give themselves no trouble about it. It lies out of their accustomed studies. It may, or may not, be true. They somewhat value it for the sake of others. It has a beneficial influence over certain orders of society. It checks and awes. How is it that these thinkers on every thing

else, never think on this? How is it that they can submit to the decisions of others in this department of enquiry alone? Is it not the most personally interesting and momentous of all questions which can arise? How is it that the friends of general liberty so enormously stumble here? Lightly they speak of the religious capacities and claims of the poor. In our senate every voice of freedom utters its burning periods and finds its ready champions: but when "the things which belong unto God" are noted, and when every man's rights, in respect of those things, are urged, what syncope is there of ordinary intelligence, what eclipse of common sense! Why should not all be moulded to one religion? What have the poor to do but to follow their appointed guides?—We cannot trust,—we are driven to the avowal,—we cannot trust the best friends, the best informed, the best tried, advocates, of civil liberty, with our religious interests. We grieve, we blush, to declare that we see in civil liberty but a most imperfect security for the claims of conscience. But the converse is as historically, as it is gloriously, true. Religious liberty has always won, as its accompaniment, civil freedom. The reason is in Christian motive. Luther, Zuinglius, and Knox, were true and holy men. They loved the good of their species. They grasped the greater benefit, and secured the less. And, therefore, are we alarmed, because all record and all experience prove, that patriots and deliverers may content themselves with striking off the body's iron, and

yet perpetuate the spirit's bondage. We cannot trust these men. They have not learnt that "the redemption of the soul is precious." Their aspirations are not those of conscience struggling to be free. We will unfurl a banner,—beneath it the defence of every mortal concernment is safe,—its shadow is a universal refuge,—which has other mottoes than those of policy, whose mighty field is emblazoned with other enrichments than those of war, whose foldings are stirred with other impulses than those of present passion and conflict, which streams towards heaven!

If we be accused of stupidity in not discerning that it is the right and duty of the State to educate the people; if we be charged with propounding, in the contrary view, a new doctrine; may we not retort? How long has it been understood? The Parliamentary Commissioners, of 1838, upon the condition of education in this country, thus report the result of their labours: —"They are convinced that, however inadequate the present system of instruction for the humbler classes may be, in many districts, it is owing almost entirely to the laudable and persevering efforts throughout the country, of benevolent individuals, that any thing at all worthy the name of education has been afforded to the children of the working classes in the large towns." "Until very recently, the subject appears to have entirely escaped the attention of government." "On this matter, important as it is to the welfare of all classes, there seem to exist no sources of information in any

department of government." Sudden, then, is the outburst of light which has come upon our jurists, statists, and legislators! Philanthropists and Christians for so long a time have intruded upon their province! "They are the men, and wisdom shall die with them!" But there is another tribunal. These senators and statesmen are but the functionaries of the nation. The solemn appeal has been made to it: Velitis, Jubeatis, Quirites? And if the answer of Britain be not sufficiently emphatic, for ever to debar such encroachments, for ever to warn such intermeddlers, its rulers must be seized with utter infatuation, no wise to be accounted for but by the judgment of Him "that turneth wise men *backward*, and maketh their knowledge foolish."

When honest conviction is entertained, its honesty must be proved by its consistent support and perseverance. Now it is not denied that national education is a very favourite project with many. They only of late may have dwelt upon it. Still later has it been that they have understood its difficulty. But, from *time immemorial*, education has been benevolently, that is, *voluntarily*, applied. In this is no novelty. We find in this fact a well-proved principle. From it, with the experience of ages upon it, we are not inclined to swerve. It is not that which can coexist with any compulsory scheme It fades and falls before the contrary system. The idea is hopeless, that they can be concurrent means. Every present form of education must be weakened and absorbed, by the unitive

and national measure which has been supposed. It cannot be a mere addition to what is now in subsistence: it must supersede. The "new piece" will destroy the ancient texture. Such contraries must dash in endless collision. No common basis, no reconciling solution, can be found. The man of enlightened and sincere principle must, in this conjuncture, be inflexible. He will find himself placed amidst conflicts of opinion. He will be condemned for the most opposite prejudices. He will be urged to move in the most contrary directions. His star is above, and he must steer by it.

> "Virtus repulsæ nescia sordidæ
> Intaminatis fulget honoribus;
> Nec sumit aut ponit secures
> Arbitrio popularis auræ."*

The sciolist, unread in history, unversed in constitutional knowledge, after a superficial glance of other countries, may repeat the verbiage, "that to this country the distinction is due, of being the least educated country of Europe, of being the only one which has no system of national education." And wherefore, My Country, art thou thus arraigned? What means this charge? This treason to thy honour, from them who

* "True courage, unacquainted with defeat, shines on with untarnished honours; neither grasping, nor laying down, the ensigns of its dignity at every turn of the popular will."—Hor: Carm: lib. iii. 2.

call themselves thy sons? These parricidal, though imbecile, bolts against thy Shield? Is it that thou art dark, while all around thee glows in light? Is it that thou art alien to the love of knowledge and the advancement of learning? Is it that science and erudition and poetry have fled thy shores? Is it that the Muses find in thee no haunt? Hast thou no theatre for the arts? Is it that thy swains and artizans do not think and will not enquire? Canst thou boast no cunning workmen? Is it that thy mind stagnates and thy conscience sleeps? Is it that thy literature, complete or serial, teems multitudinously for one great appetite and zest? Is it that the bird-hum of infant pupils swells upon the village breeze? Is it that in the far distant dale, the school, of no common lore, lifts its grey porch? Thy crime is known! Despots have banded themselves to mutter it! Thou art too enlightened and wilt radiate thy light! Thou art too free, and wilt proclaim thy freedom! Thou wilt not give thy limbs to be bound! Thou wilt not be cajoled into the surrender of thy rights! Thou art too high-souled, too erect, too thoughtful, for this abject education! Thou canst not be converted into a school! Thou canst not submit to the formula of a discipline! And, therefore, O my country! if I loved thee ever, I the more reverently love thee now,—now, that in thy greatness, thou hast broken the snare which aught less than thy jealousy of liberty might not have detected, and aught less than thy enthusiasm of independence

might not have spurned! Still may thine be,

> "Pity and fear,
> Religion to thy God, peace, justice, truth,
> Domestic awe, night-rest, and neighbourhood,
> Instruction, manners, mysteries, and trades,
> Degrees, observances, customs, and laws."*

Others may desire the supple, slavish, unreflecting, race. We ask of men to think. We seek even the conflict of opinion. We know, in the language of Milton, that "opinion is knowledge in the making." They may afford the education which rather binds than unlooses the spirit of man. They would reduce society to a scale of exact graduations. Government they would erect into a universal control. They regard man as the mere accessory to higher aims. They play the game of their ambition,—the types of power and rank traverse their board,—and the people are the pawns with which they defend their privileged figures, and fill their vacant squares. We can take no such servile estimate. We renounce the cruel wrong. We desire to see the community astir: a thing of life and action. We hold that independence is its best virtue. The characteristic firmness of a nation is its surest defence. We scorn the discipline which so many love, and whose covert intention is to lull the noble and the brave into unsuspecting confidence, to tame them into abject submission.

* Shakspeare. Timon of Athens.

"What constitutes a State?
Not high raised battlement, or laboured mound,
Thick wall, or moated gate,
Not cities proud with spires and turrets crowned;
Not bays and broad-armed ports
Where laughing at the storm rich navies ride;
Not starred and spangled courts
Where low-browed baseness wafts perfume to pride;
No:—Men, high-minded men,
With powers as far above dull brutes endued
In forest, brake, or den,
As beasts excel cold rocks and brambles rude,—
Men, who their duties know,
But know their rights, and knowing dare maintain,
Prevent the long-aimed blow
And crush the tyrant while they rend the chain:
These constitute a State!
And Sovereign Law, that State's collected will,
O'er thrones and globes elate
Sits Empress, crowning good, repressing ill." *

Instead, then, of seeking national education,—a figment, hopeless as the secrets which darker ages frivolously pursued,—let us gird ourselves for the glorious enterprise of educating more extensively, and, above all, more *perfectly*, the people of our land. Let not any factious statements, any ill-pondered charges, induce us to take up the flattering extreme. There

* Sir William Jones. The thought he confesses to be taken, and the poem imitated, from Lycæus.—Cicero has a similar idea in his Letters to Atticus: "Non est in parietibus Respublica."—Lib. vii. 11.

is evil in the city, and throughout every region round about. Much is to be done. Liberal things must be devised. Personal exertions must be engaged. Our country grievously falls below its true altitude. By its privileges it is exalted to heaven. Why, then, the many recesses into which heaven's splendour has not pierced? Why, then, the many wastes upon which heaven's verdure does not bloom? Have we not suffered to grow up among us an anomalous state of things? We may find some excuse in the want of precedent. History holds out no light. Experience suggests no rule. But still, has the evil dilated itself before us! It is two-fold: the disparity of old means to meet new combinations, and the constant degeneracy of a certain number of the population into pauperism and recklessness. The plague must be stayed. Education does not stand alone: it marches on with a glorious fellowship. Yet more or less formally it enters into every remedy. Man must be made his own friend and healer. Melioration can alone proceed from himself. But how can this be, save as he becomes a creature of intelligent and virtuous aims? How can he become this, "except some man shall guide" him?

Let us ransack the purlieus of misery and squalor: let us plead the cause of the outcast poor. In all our towns and cities there is a fearful deterioration going on. There sinks away a mass of human beings in indescribable degradation. They have reached, through rapid descents, the lowest point. A moody despair sits

upon their spirit, or a fierce recklessness awakes it. Revenge is in their hearts. It may be succeeded by sullen apathy. Decency is defied. Shame is lost. What educatory means, though built before their doors, can avail them? The simplest stipulations would preclude the attendance of these children. Demand of them cleanliness and the plainest clothing, to say nothing of payment, and they are hopelessly debarred. It will be impossible to associate them with the offspring of the operative. Yet must they perish? Honour to those who call them together in their tatters and their rags! Honour to the delicate woman, the heiress of title and opulence, who is seen, by her smile and her accent, winning the ruffian child into order and consent! Does earth contain a more angelic spectacle of disinterested grace? Why should not these asylums be multiplied? Is there only occasion for them in the crowded town? In the village population, there is the same lawless indigence. Families, from whatever cause, are bowed to the earth. They have witnessed their last dilapidation. The tempter stands at their side. They can dare the worst. The poacher, the rick-burner, the felon,—their prowl is like that of the wild beast. They are dreaded of all. Not to the neat and peaceful school-house can their little ones be allured: into it they could not be allowed to pass. Let education become "a servant to all." Let it learn every art of accommodation. "To the weak, let it become weak." None must we neglect who share an immortal lot with

us: of none of that race must we despair for which a Saviour died!

In the neighbourhood of Hamburg, there exists an institution, called Rauhe Haus, which is a model for such a humbling charity. Mr. J. H. Wickern is its founder. It is a school for the children of the lowest class, those who have been trained in infamy, and have never known the domestic relation, save in the most brutal, or in worse than brutal, form. The system is that of a family, or of families. They are taught to learn every thing by labour. They are well instructed in general knowledge. They are encouraged in all independent feeling. Great confidence is reposed in them. Nearly every thing is left to their honour. And well have they merited and repaid this generous consideration. In the recent fire, these pupils were the most daring adventurers in arresting the conflagration, and the most assiduous comforters of the distressed.

Very determinately should we put away from us all the chafings of party strife. Let us devote ourselves to the momentous duty in its own spirit. Be not accusation met with accusation. Return not suspicion for suspicion. Let past recriminations be forgotten. Do that which is right, whomsoever you imitate. Act for the greatest good, with whomsoever you coalesce. Thoroughly sift and cleanse and apply the question. Blot out the past. Forget reproach and indignity. Prove that you have at heart the education of the country; and that no danger shall daunt, no sophistry shall

divert, no labour shall weary, no failure shall depress, you in carrying it into effect.

Still we feel that the mind of the nation is misunderstood. The moral worth which it contains is credited not. The habits and tastes of its truly influential classes, are not comprehended. Our statesmen stand afar off. They are too well expounded by that most ignoble and pestilent principle of the late George Canning, avowed by him before the multitudes of his Constituency,—that his "idea of the true domestic policy was to do every thing *for* the people, but as little as possible *by* them." They do not associate and sympathise with those they rule. They seldom speak of them without gross error. They know almost nothing of the inner life of society. Chiefly are they wrong in their own selfish nature, and in the estimate which they have formed of human nature, as only selfish. Their maxims are all like this. They scarcely see any but the courtier, the sycophant, the pensioner. They, therefore, cannot conceive the spirit of Christian benevolence. They dare not commit any cause to the spontaneousness of popular support. Their distrust of private, voluntary, agencies, is angry and scornful. Oh they know not the nation's heart! They blind themselves to that force of principle which, instead of running itself to waste, only increases in strength as it expands in compass! If they will but give the people credit for qualities, which are no estrangement from national character, which are no redundance to Christian pro-

fession,—qualities not of yesterday, but which long trial has incontestably proved, and exigent opportunity has sublimely unfolded,—then may they be assured that, what they cannot accomplish, what it is vain for them to essay, shall be done effectually and permanently by a simple power, which they have not imagined, which they cannot compute,—but which can easily educate a country, for it is destined to Christianise the world!

And there is one form of effort in our country which statesmen may well ponder. It is new and original. Despotism could not endure it. Christianity can alone guide it. It is the power of association. Men combine. Thus science is promoted Suffering is, in this manner, soothed and indigence relieved. The individual loses his helplessness in the concert and co-operation of some great fellowship and action. Christian men need not have sought the rule from others: their religion dictates it. The prayer of their Master, that "they may be one," in order that "the world may believe," is fulfilled. They are "one," they visibly appear as "one," they practically labour as "one." They "strive together," they "contend earnestly," for a common end. The efficacy of the principle is amazing. It is a self-multiplying strength which exceeds calculation. It is the acorn becoming the oak: it is the oak becoming the forest. This method, which owes itself to the tendencies of our religion, now strengthens into a national characteristic and habit. It is a

part of our life as a community. The stranger gazes on our institutions as the most singular features of our country. Their voluntary origin and support, their self-government and self-administration, lie beyond all his common prepossessions. He has heard of Hotel de Dieu, Krakenhausen, Orphan House, Paraclete,—he has heard of personal bounty and bequest,—but he now beholds a new scale, receives a new conception, in guilds of benevolence, in corporations of charity, without charter, without impost, constituted in no perpetuity but securing it, entailed upon no descent but renewing it, exhaustless as the ocean, successive as the day! We wait for no Hero, we want no Hero, to guide: the Heroism is in the age. He who invokes one, and professes his confidence in such an advent, must allow us to call the mighty spirit now moving over society, a Pantheism, though far different from that which he ill conceals, rather than the hero-worship which he avows.* Surely they who hold the political helm of such a people, should study this their moral peculiarity, giving it favour, allowing it scope,—never questioning its independence, nor fettering its liberty.

There are profounder researches still left for our rulers. The nation is deeply smitten with that earnestness of feeling before which fashions and expedients sooner or later must give way. It is thinking out great questions. It is pressing forward in the highway of mighty principles. The toy and the gewgaw no more

* Thomas Carlyle.

can divert, no longer can deceive. There is inward energy. The fire enfolds itself. New impressions are made. All awakes and stirs. Let the course be observed and watched. But let not men, in their "tricks" of a "little brief authority," tamper with it. The giant is rising up,—withe, rope, and web, and even beam, are alike weak to bind him!

There is that which is yet farther removed from the ken of governments. It is not psychological problem nor national development,—it is the vitality of Christian motive. They understand, and sagaciously enough, how men will huckster the gold of the temple, while they make it their house of merchandise. They know what religion means in the mouth of those who regard it as their gain, and wield it for their aggrandisement. But most of them have yet to learn that there is a hidden principle, fed by a celestial influence, in constant exercise wherever beats the renewed heart. That is unselfish, pure, generous, unwearying. It seeks not praise of men. It asks no reward, but the success of its benevolence. It goes about doing good. And in this land, amidst its religious distributions, how intense is the ardour of Christian zeal! It knows not repose nor check. It is in unabating influence. Legislation could only mar and encumber such a spirit. Would you dig into the spring to assist it? Would you, by lever, enforce the growth of vegetation? The impulse of Christian principle is quite as much of its own nature, of its own progress, of its own self-evolution.

Kings may "assemble;" when they "see it" they may "marvel:" yet need they not be "troubled nor haste away." It is no defiance. It is no usurpation. It is not "imperium in imperio." It gently rises and meekly spreads. It beautifies and adorns the strongholds of power which would otherwise only lour in their forms, and often binds them when otherwise they would only crumble amidst their breaches,—as the moss, with its little flower, often relieves, and, with its cementing and binding fibre, strengthens, some nodding pile or threatening ruin!

Of one thing we are assured. The enemies of education must fail. They have no hold on truth. They have no resting-place in fact. For them neither the past furnishes experience, nor yet the future encouragement. They are counter-worked by all principle and all opinion. The entrenchments of physical force can no more avail them. A thought is stronger than a sword! A printing-press has more sway than a park of artillery, and a schoolmaster can put an army to flight! Tyrants have already fallen before this new power. Dyonisius is at Corinth!

We are bound in our system of education to cherish, with great steadfastness and benevolent approval, particular views of man. Others may instruct him in order to repress. We would interpret his characteristics as his destinies. To those destinies we would lift up all the knowledge which we impart. We desire his perfect development.

Man is a creature of *progress*, whenever found in circumstances of civilization. Popular institutions have an expansive principle in them. The human mind, which naturally contains this tendency, is quickened in its advancement by the social element. We believe that the species, with many reverses and retardations, has gradually improved. Its own law of progress has been resisted, but could not be utterly destroyed. It satisfies the argument to show that there never was such an amount of all that enters into the civic good of man,—knowledge, law, liberty, refinement, invention, wealth,—at any given period, as now subsists, since the world began. Like cross-currents of the ebb, we have beheld the contentions which would thwart this law of human progress,—but as such currents only precede and indicate the turning of the tide, so now we mark the flow and predict the flood. Our plan of educating the people must agree with this noble bias, and chief distinction, of our nature. Far be from us the injustice and madness of withstanding such a power of development and pledge of acceleration! We may seek to guide it,—to stop it is an attempt as impious as vain. The darkness of a general ignorance can never again cover the nations. The civilization of the world can never more recede. We must treat man accordingly. We must provide him for his journey and equip him for his race.

Man, as seen in his present external condition, will certainly lay claim to greater *liberty*. Governments will

fruitlessly withhold and resist the reasonable prayer or the stern demand. No such problem can be settled in politics as this,—how a people, who have known and contended for freedom, shall contentedly abandon the holy cause, or shall willingly accept of its diminution. It can only grow. Opinion, patriotism, individual self-respect, new statutes and privileges, are its strength and security. Tyranny knows that its time is short. That of oligarchy has passed under special abhorrence, and scarcely can hope a morrow. Though we deprecate the tumultuary licentiousness of the many as the worst form of oppression, we observe, in the aspect of the times and in the spirit of the nations, the assurance that liberty is the type of deep reflection and earnest resolve. The age not only cries for it,—the peculiarities of order, information, enterprise, which that age unfolds, demand it. All halts without it. It cannot be abused, as in earlier and capricious visitations it may have been. Legislation, science, learning, commerce, implore its aid and forbid its perversion. The freedom of conscience is still more exigent. Its fate may be now, what it has always been, to follow civil liberty with unequal steps. A convulsive effort is at present put forth by bigotry to crush it. But we fear not the result. Private responsibility is so clear a truth, is so powerful a plea, that it must be yielded. These are the prospects which open before us. Civil and religious liberty must prevail. Man shall every where be free. The interests of an

enlightened, generous, Christian, enfranchisement are daily securing favour and acquiring force. Then the project of education must obey the same direction. Be not afraid. Murmur not at what is, or at what shall be. Speak not as if man were too little restrained. There cannot be an excess of liberty where personal and social rights evenly advance. But true liberty ceases the instant that they clash. Convince it of its duties as well as excite it by its immunities. Show how it can only be attained by worthy means, and enforced by fitting uses. A nation which is only free to enslave others, deserves to be rooted up,—to be consumed like a forest where wolves hold their riot, and fill their den, with their mutilated victims.

But most of all are we warned that, in education, we should presume on nothing of mere opinion, but that we are bound to adduce *truth* in its authority and *fact* with its evidence. Reasons must be rendered for all we teach. Rash and hardy assertion must be disclaimed. How ought we to remember, with a holy vow, that true Christianity and true knowledge must agree with each other! We can find no devotion in ignorance, nor faith in superstition. We can obtain no influence in any unfounded conceit. False aphorism and idle omen and gratuitous dogma cannot avail us if we really seek the well-being of our race. This was the error of the Roman Antichrist. It was, according to its boast, infallible. It mistook prejudice for demonstration. It condemned Galileo. Did it disprove the revolution of

our world around the sun? It fixed the Vulgate text. Did it supersede codex and rescensus in the examination of the true Word of God? Especially let us discriminate between the doctrine of Revelation and our gloss. Let us not teach our scholars any thing doubtful. If you tell them that six thousand years ago the Creator formed this earth out of nothing,—you deliver a sense which Scripture does not give, and which the stratifications of the planet, with their vegetable and animal remains, refute. If you tell them that the inferior creatures die because of human sin,—you urge a comment which Scripture does not support, and which, not only involves innumerable inconsistencies, but lays itself open to the plainest contradiction in the deposits of animal races whose congeners were never known by man. Other illustrations might be raised. These may awake our caution. When man imposes his theories on the Bible, it is he who speaks, while that is degraded by being made only his medium. Let us be satisfied that all result, invention, discovery, the most unexpected in order and the most remote in time, must be what Revelation cannot oppose, but receives, adopts, approves. All truth is one!

Our scheme and spirit of education, therefore, stop short most unworthily and inefficiently, save as they regard the certain progressiveness of civilised man, the destined enlargement of his liberty, and his indefeasible title to be instructed in that far-reaching knowledge which rests in perfect and universal truth.

In our systems of general education, two things are wanted. The first is, that the great institutions of the country be made strictly *national*. It is a pitiful policy to sell knowledge at the price of conscience. Can it be good, or sound in principle, that one party in the State only shall be taught? Should not the living fountains be laid open for all? When learning is made the privilege of a party, is not the inference strong, that that party feels the precariousness of its tenure, and must strengthen it; the fallacy of its creed, and must sophisticate it; the paucity of its members, and must recruit them? If it be founded in right, the more information it can lend to its opponents, the more likely is their conversion. Truth can find no strength in the ignorance of its foes.—Nor is it less desirable that the means of education be *cheapened*. The lower kind does not call for any reduction in its terms. But every step beyond it, rises most disproportionately. Any better culture is quite out of the reach of the poor. Even the gratuitous foundation school, in the apparel it supposes, and in the books it demands, exceeds their capacity. These, too, are not every where. Europe and America give far greater facilities to the children of the labouring class. Competition, at the same time, restrains the price and elaborates the commodity, if such expressions of traffic may be allowed. Nothing can be more fanatical, than to suppose that the value of knowledge is depreciated by the humbleness of its pecuniary charge. Its true

importance must always be the same. The treasure is unvarying, whatever be its vessel. Are the classic writings less worthy of our admiration, now that we read them no longer in their costly uncials and vellums? Is the Bible divested of any sacredness, because it is no more shut up in libraries and museums, but is attainable by the poorest child? The whole apparatus of instruction, the entire system of literature, must be correspondently reduced in cost. It has been begun. The favoured few may sneer. But when Penny Magazines and Reprints were first thrown into circulation, a new æra was written for our country, —a new principle was established among its people, —for henceforth the excellence of knowledge was made to rest, not on the difficulties which beset it, not on the accidents which adorned or depressed it, but on itself!

We cannot disguise it from ourselves, that we are not only in a crisis of the history of education, but that education itself may become an occasion of snare and peril. It is vaunted by some as all that is needed to rectify our nature. It is pared down by them to very insignificant dimensions. It is made to include only the knowledge which pertains to the present sensible state of things. The instructions which it imparts are not so much esteemed as the inward powers it elicits. These are inherent powers of self-improvement. The good is in man. It only remains to be evolved. His heart only needs to be unfolded. Con-

dorcet, in his Philosophical Outlines, insists upon this perfectible faculty. Godwin and others have followed him. These look to the reign of mind. With gross inconsistency, they also hail the brutal freedom of the lower instincts. How untrue is this view of human nature! Education would be of little value, and often a cruel mockery, did it only awaken the understanding and its susceptibilities. You must now instil knowledge. You have the subjective capacity; you must now fill it with objective good.

This is connected with the disbelief of that, for which all Christian education must allow,—the fallen condition of our nature. That nature is not the fair tablet upon which you write whatever you may please, —fearful characters are already blotted there. It is not the bough which can bend into whatever direction you will,—it has its own stubborn inclination. In every step you take of moral culture, you will find resistance. Let us not disguise it from ourselves. It is no accidental influence. It is propension of the most certain kind. In all, though varied in its manifestations, it is the same. Let this truth be pondered and solemnly revolved,—it will check much hope, but it will prevent much more disappointment,—"The heart is deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked"!

The friend and champion, who would instruct universal society, is often placed in singular difficulties. He must not imagine that he can satisfy the objections which shall assail him from the most opposite sides.

But if he have silenced the enemies of education, he has that which is far more formidable with which to contend. This is the conduct of certain advocates. These are the fanatics to whom this subject is a monomaniacal idea. They, by their extravagance, their visionary theories, their ill-calculated plans, throw a ridiculousness upon the sacred cause. No sober men can act with them. They are full of fantastic images and distorting dreams. This is their panacea for all the evils of domestic and civil life. They do no justice to the other means of human advancement. They affect contempt for all the institutions which soften the ferocity, and curb the violence, of man,—for all that humanises, softens, and refines, the nation's heart. They speak with scorn of authority, rank, laws, manners, and even of religion. They insult all rite, solemnity, commemoration, festival, badge. They leave no room for association, for confidence, for feeling. They will not understand, that there must be an antecedent state of things, a mighty framework, within which are comprehended the duties which education is designed to explain and to enforce. The objects must be provided on which the unsealed eye may fix. The path must be laid for that footstep which shall henceforth press it. Civilization can spare no ornament, no elegance, no courtesy, no polish,—much less can it forego any principle, any influence, any usage, which preserves the citizen in order, in harmony, in good will, in peace. It is an exquisite poise of the natural and the artifi-

cial. A breath may peril it. The educationist ought to be the foremost in his reverence to it. It is not for him to slight a fabric which alone can furnish him with range for his experiments and with basis for his triumphs.

And there are those who repudiate all sympathy with such a school of thinkers, that still commit all human fortunes and destinies to education. As the word is commonly defined, even as the word can be most largely understood, we utterly dissent from the idea. The direct preaching of the gospel, together with its ordinances, we believe to be the only instrument of wide-spread and true melioration. If education be flattered to the slight of this divine appointment, if it be thrust into its place, if it be abused to supersede it, it is from that hour an idolatry, a good unduly exalted and misplaced, a deified instrument of good, a Nehushtan, a useless, defiling, irreligious thing. It is quite necessary that we, in the argument of the most Christian education, do not betray it by an idle boast or an undeserved homage.

We forebode not evil nor doom of Britain. The progress it has made has been long, steady, glorious. It has redeemed the slave, at a price greater than many a nation's dower,—a nobler act than his mere emancipation. It has dedicated its proudest architecture to designs of mercy. It has purged its code of blood. It has granted many equal rights to its children. It is sending forth freedom through its mighty

colonizations. Its shores offer sanctuary to them who are oppressed. Its liberty is a model for all people. It has a world-wide fame. From its high, cliff-cinctured, throne of rocks, while the waves sleep around it, it looks forth calm in conscious power, erect with generous purpose, casting its shield around freedom, mediating the elements of strife,—the luminary of knowledge and the angel of religion!

Why should Britain fall? What canker is in its destiny? What omen casts the lurid shadow over its disk? Its difficulties are those of might, puissance, greatness. They may be overcome. They already yield. They are brought to view by the very means which grapple with them. If crisis come, if danger fall, let it burst upon an enlightened and religious people. In this will be our stay, whatever is the shock,—whatever the deluge, this will cause our ark to ride upon the waters!

We read not evil in the signs of the times. The events, which are the most threatening in their seeming, speak to us of hope. Instead of foreboding a redundance of population, we anticipate, in numbers, a strength and glory. Instead of regarding our fields as incapable of yielding an enlarged and a more adequate supply, we anticipate the foison of an unknown husbandry. Instead of bewailing that the national spirit is worn out and sunk into decay, we anticipate its waxing greatness. Instead of turning to the sun of a once mighty prosperity as now fast westering and

going down, we anticipate a meridian for it which it has never scaled. Considering our constitutional privileges, and our Christian facilities, our progress as a people has been slow. But where the rudiments of character are gathered tardily, their development is frequently sudden. For ages there was not that advancement of right thought and feeling which might have been expected from the intellectual and moral causes then at work. But there was not pause. Every step may not be traced, but the course can be measured. A thousand things would shock the religious refinement of the present times, which our forefathers willingly brooked. In knowledge, in mental happiness, in temporal plenty, in political power, our common people never stood as they do now. Public opinion exerts a force previously unconceived. Remnants of tyranny give way, one after another, before the growth of liberty. The ferocity of manners is allayed. The national relationships are founded upon intelligent reciprocations and honourable principles. Diplomacy supersedes war. Genius and science wait not for posthumous honours, but share contemporary fame. Religion transfuses itself into channels which formerly it could not reach. Biblical criticism gains an unwonted favour and celebrity. Missions begin to take a place in our characteristic tastes and habits, and a prominence among our declared and most favoured institutions. And, withal, the true condition of our country itself employs a vigour of attention, and a disinterestedness

of benevolence, which the popular interests never until now engaged.

The common allegation is refuted, that foreign objects blind us to those at home. We proudly show that our coasts do not dissever us from the interests of a universal humanity. The deep which circles us is the broad band, the throbbing sensory, which knits us to the nations,—and is our great carrier of succour and knowledge to the world. But the influence of this philanthropy is reflex. The state of our population is, after all, the cause which fixes the closest study, and is the question to which every other is postponed. He can possess little claim to truth and honesty, who represents that the momentous problem of the people's happiness and welfare is now overlooked. Would that it had been earlier pursued! Over what a region, and what a race, must the sun have then risen and the heavens bent!

We would not boast. It is presumption. We would not despair. It is ingratitude. We see victory in struggle, and behold the sign of hope reflect itself from the storm. We remember our guilt, and know what we have deserved. We sing of mercy, because God in wrath has remembered mercy. He has wrought out our deliverance for us. We cannot think, from His own indications, that He is mindful to destroy us. He chastens that he may not destroy. We have boasted of Power, and he has shown our feebleness. We have glorified our Resources, and he has shut up in strait.

The rod has smote us, not the whetted sword nor the glittering spear. All turns to mercy. The salt which is sown in our land, is not of ruin but of life. The ploughshare, driven through it, is not of destruction but of cultivation.

Christian Education is our want, and will be our strength. Let it be no longer delayed. Let it be no more stinted. Give it the scale which it deserves. Grudge not the due proportions. Lift it on high. Let it overtower the noblest monuments of the land. Let "Wisdom build her house," let her "hew out her seven pillars," let her "cry upon the highest places of the city!" This will be solid fame. It will be true glory. It will bring all other blessings with it. It will be the security of all. If, like Solomon, we, as a nation, seek "an understanding heart,"—not only a secular education, but a religious discipline,—that we may "discern between good and bad,"—"God will give unto us, that which we have not asked, *Both Riches* and *Honour!*"

NOTE,

ON CLASSICAL LEARNING.

As the question of Classical Learning occurs in the foregoing Essay,—the Author hopes that he may be excused quoting a part of an Address delivered by him at the last Anniversary (June 19, 1844) of the Protestant Dissenters' Grammar School, near London: it has only been printed in a Periodical.

In an age of calculation, a mechanical age, it was the honour of this School to seek and uphold Grammar Learning. The temptation, the increasing temptation, the sordid temptation, was to turn all instruction into a craft, a manipulation. There was appetite for very little more. No clamorous importunity demanded this sterner style. Objections were even heard against it. Its likelihood of superfluousness was urged. Its irreligiousness was denounced. But here this noble Institution made its stand. It would parley with none of the common-places of vulgar ignorance or mistaken scrupulousness. It joined its assent to the authority of universal experience, that the acquirement of languages, especially of the classic languages, is the foundation of the greatest learn-

ing, and the instrument best fitted for intellectual outgrowth. None contend for exclusive attention to them. None suppose that they comprehend the utmost materials of indoctrination. Mathematical and physical enquiries deserve no mean place in our institutes of tuition. But is the youthful mind capable of their highest principia? Ought it not to pass through a strengthening, expanding, preparation? Would not rigid science overstrain it? The cultivation of the richest languages, in the mean while, elicits and braces its energies. Oh how narrowly do they understand, or rather, how unrighteously do they propound, the case, whose sole notion of learning a language is to get a glossary by rote! They know not that language is the expression of some people's inward life and heart! They know not that language is the minute inscription of habits and tastes which no public monuments can record! They know not that the words of the wise are the chronicles of their wisdom, and the words of the good are the emanations of their goodness! They know not that in the loss of these particular dialects of human speech, the loss must follow of the experience furnished by the most wonderful nations of the world! They know not that men must think in words, and that by words only can they be induced to think! They know not that language is the best analytic test of mental precision, so that rarely is that justly conceived which cannot be expressed! Thus the ancient Greeks declared reason and speech by the same word.*

This is not the time to defend our curriculum. That time is past. We cannot renew the controversy. It is settled. It is fatuous to regard it in a way the most hypothetical as that it can be disturbed. It is a fixed, demonstrated, Copernican, truth.

* Λογος.

Only there is a defence of it almost worse than its impeachment. We love not selfish considerations in the unfoldings of the rational and moral principles of our nature. We would not press the care of youthful training upon a scale of social convenience and utility. A smattering of this lore is, forsooth, to be tolerated, because it may assist the conquest of the mercantile modern tongues! It may help the chemist and the botanist! It may guide the plodder through laborious nomenclatures! It is, perhaps, just endured, because deemed essential to a certain grade of society, and with a hope that it may be attended with civil advantage! It is submitted to as a sacrifice! It is borne with as a loss! It is secretly regretted! At heart it is despised! Aspirations are indulged that it shall soon yield before the discoveries of cerebral organization or of practical thrift!

Oh let us never plead the cause of those great forms of utterance, those musical effusions, those variegated terminologies, those heart-deep vibrations, those scenic epithets, those transparent self-reflections of the mind and the sensibility of the hidden man,—those languages which give us citizenship in ancient states, until we burn with their patriotic passions, and a seat around ancient roof-trees, until we are entangled with their domestic ties;—those languages which lead us through long-lost cities and homes, far more unerringly than we can find our way through such cities and homes when actually laid open from their volcanic inundation;—those languages which are as a song of the affections, an enthusiasm of the faculties, of our nature, when of itself it was most dignified and sublimated;—those languages which are full of the æsthetic of beauty and grandeur: those languages to which others, only as they approach them, are graceful, apt, and strong;—let their cause never be pleaded on grounds of a low expediency, nor hold quarrel for them with "sophis-

ters, œconomists, and calculators." It is too high a cause for them to appreciate, and can only be conducted by the generous views and emotions which they do not understand.

The study of the Greek and Latin writings has been severely condemned as irreligious. They are most certainly the productions of Pagan writers, and their allusions of a sacred character are formed upon the mythology which they professed. The objection must equally lie against the study of their statuary and architecture. We must cast down all those prodigies of the antique,—those breathing marbles before which we can hardly breathe,—those friezes, those entablatures, those capitals, those colonnades, those arches, which seem to form themselves afresh before our eyes, and to build up anew their original structures. Of the chief classic writings it may be affirmed that they are imbued with a sincere piety. Reverent is the mention of their gods. They impute disaster of every kind to the neglect of the temples. They accept of rule and power as divine gifts on the humble subordination of a people to supernal rule and power. "Hinc omne principium, huc refer exitum."* Why is Mezentius held up to our horror? "Contemptor Divûm."† Why are we made to shrink from his prowess and defiance? "Dextra mihi Deus." Why does the death of the tyrant, though the slaughter of his son might have constrained our pity, fail to draw a tear? "Nec Divûm parcimus ulli." Homer is very chastity in his household descriptions, and he is a devout worshipper of those divinities whom his machines so often require and reveal. Pindar, with all his flights and fervours is without a stain. Think of the historians, Herodotus, and Thucydides, and Livy,—the orators, Isocrates, Demosthenes, Cicero,—and where is the fear of harm? In a few places of the epic, and a few more of the lyric, poets, there is polluting

* Hor: Carm: lib. iii. 6. † Vir: Æneid: lib. x.

image and diction. In some of the moralists there is profaneness. But there is room enough for selection. Suppose that Catullus, Ovid, and Lucretius, were never brought into our schools. It would be loss; but a good acquaintance with Latin, and better Latin, might be formed without them. I have lately most reluctantly come to the conclusion, that Plato is a very tainted writer: but the Middle Attic may be studied without his use, and he is not often set before our youth. The Greek tragedians are singularly pure. We would hide and exculpate nothing wrong: our wonder, however, is, that in heathen works these vices should be so rare. To say that they are idolaters is certainly gratuitous: but was boy ever proselytised to their superstition? Might not the preceptor direct the pupil to the manner of homage and faith which they bear to their fabled deities, and teach him hence the constant acknowledgment which he ought to render to the Holy One and True? To say that the ancient classics are fraught with recitals of battles, is but slightly to condemn them: was boy ever turned into soldier by the blood of mortals and the ichor of immortals, mingled together on the Trojan plain? If battles did occur, it cannot be strange that annalists recorded, or that bards sung, them: the struggles of Thermopylæ, Marathon, and Salamis, surely may be told and read: and should any fear that the youth thus taught should fly to arms, it can only be just to remember, that far more probably would strifes of a later and patriotic interest fire his fancy, and native heroes of the past and present hour arouse his emulation. Give these renowned models of writing their own principles of a deplorably false religion, and I fearlessly say, that they present nothing more extraordinary than their devout spirit and their blameless delicacy. He must possess a strange sense of virtue who takes refuge from them in our Gibbon, Dryden, and Pope. There would be as little

happiness of escape from Aristophanes and Terence into our native comedy: even Shakspeare's tragic bust is not so unblurred and unsoiled as are the heads which the Grecian Melpomene has so long since crowned.

The higher state of education among us has been very salutary as to our profession of Christianity. When learning was sinking low, an unhealthy feebleness came over all beside. Enquiry was arrested, and thought was proscribed. Our religious belief began to dote. A poverty of conception, an effeminacy of language, presented all sacred principles most disadvantageously. A poltroon fear contracted and shrivelled up the soul. Rescensus of the inspired text was deprecated as an encouragement of scepticism, if not a rapine upon it by scepticism itself. Canons of criticism were condemned. The possible conclusions of science were beheld afar with an utter dismay. Men spoke of the laws of evidence and of interpretation, in a manner which made them quite different things in religious, and in common, applications. Whatever had been held by certain authorities and symbols, was proclaimed as coordinate with Revelation itself. But what have the true hermeneutics achieved? Distrust of inspiration? I profess myself a believer in the Divine suggestion of every word of true Scripture, jot and tittle. But the book of God, given in its present conditions, must be authenticated as any other book. Its text must be collated and confirmed as any other text. Its language is to be interpreted as any other language. We think it responsible only for itself. We are often plied with sentences as extracts from it which it never contained. There are those who oracularly assure us of its purport and scope, which we may think it never did intend. Now we can open the Bible, and with open face can read it. Not my Bible, not yours; not what I have taken to be the sense of it, not what you; but only that which can prove itself to be the

uncorrupted Bible—but only that which can be proved to be its unperverted meaning. Now, is this strong, earnest, impartial, spirit the characteristic of our times? It is the fruit of liberal learning. But while we honour the instrument, we still more glory in the result. We believe it is the spirit of truth. Revelation seeks not the blind, the unreasoning, homage of our mind. It loves, it commands, investigation. "Search the Scriptures." By your full conviction of their veracity, by your entire reliance on their information, by your cordial devotion to their excellence, alone do you allow their claim or magnify their origin.

Philosophy is no longer scanned with a jealous eye. Time was, at least, when its name was in little favour among our many. The discoveries of science were supposed to lour with an ominous aspect upon Christianity. But this is now better understood. There has been no compromise nor concession. All that is proper Christianity, the religion of salvation, has long been given to us in the inspired page. We ask no new lights as to its substance; though new and still more beautiful illustrations may constantly be thrown around it. In itself it is complete: it is a dogmatic discovery. We should as soon think of addition to the physics of the universe, or to the principles of mathematics, as to the compass of the Gospel. But now let just and comprehensive philosophy commence any of its studies in reference to it. We hail its approach and subserviency. If moral, having worked out its theory of obligation, it will find in Christianity its best sanction and true approval. If inductive, Christianity anticipates it,—"Prove all things, hold fast that which is good." If the philosophy of history, Christianity furnishes its only scheme and key. If the philosophy of mind, it is forestalled by the scriptural analysis of the inner man. Kindle these illuminations to all their strength: our religion looks but

the more intensely glorious beneath them! Or let science lay open her experiments: we still are fearless. Scan the chronology of the firmament! Read history in the stratification of the rocks! Discovery and deduction are on our side. Let the great laboratory be entered,—let forge and crucible be plied. Let silicon, the matrix of modern miracles, be put to all its torture! These elements are at an eternal distance from life and self-action. Archæology may lift its torch upon the "dark backward and abysm of time." Not a date, nor a scene, nor an event, of our religion does it disturb. In all this are seen the might and the divinity and the victory of our faith!

Liberty has obtained strength in this enlargement of the popular mind. The servile and the abject are abhorrent to religion, and to its selectest influences. It awakens a conscious dignity. It enables each bond-man to burst his chains. Oppression has often stung to resentment, but more often has it bowed to abasement. Persecution, if it did not frighten our spirit, had sat heavy upon it. It had silenced our ministers, and suppressed our schools. Deliverance seemed hopeless. So long as the night of ignorance deepened around us, our love of freedom languished. We were satisfied to be oppressed. We sought toleration. We loved the hateful word. We asked no more of a revolution which we had conducted to triumph, and of a dynasty which we had raised to the throne. But as learning once more dawned, we felt the brand of toleration. We had sworn by liberty in the rescue of our country: we for ourselves now invoked its aid! And as we sprung from our dust, rivet after rivet started from our chains, and link of those chains fell after link. It is our fault, and just will be the retribution, if any man bring us again into bondage.

The intellect of our community being enlightened, its peculiar principles are now more manfully maintained. We apo-

logise not for them. We do not obtrude them. But we honour the martyrs who bled for them the earliest in the Marian persecution,—who died the felon's death under the more cruel dragonade of Elizabeth,—who gave themselves to winds and waves more merciful than their enemies, and braved the exile's fate. We see no reason to be ashamed of maxims to which all legitimate enquiry appears to be leading forward the minds of men. Glorious is the goal at which they shall sooner or later meet! The right of man to think in all matters of religion for himself,—the prerogatives of individual conscience,—the sole authority of Scripture,—the spiritual independence of Christianity,—the voluntary nature of its support and promotion,—the exclusive headship of the Saviour,—our personal accountability,—our rejection of all human mediation and substitution. If these avowals be now more distinct and uncompromising than they formerly were, knowledge has made the question more plain, examination has proved it more important, and events have shown it more binding. May our fathers never be ashamed for our degeneracy, nor their cause blush for our desertion!

In looking this morning upon the dear youth before us, we almost necessarily follow them into their future,—we unwittingly think of their lot in after life. They, if they live, must fill an important place in our world. If we might read prophecies going before upon them, we should see each in his sphere, and, if our votive prayers be heard, each honouring and adorning it. Here is the merchant upright and benevolent, with other God than Mammon and other godliness than gain,—uniting the ends of the earth in useful interchanges, subordinating commerce to knowledge, civilization, liberty, and religion,—his ships harbingers of good to the farthest shore, and his freights means of melioration to the meanest tribe. There is the jurist meditating the principles of his

science, holding forth law as the shield of defence, and the sword of punishment; construing all, without chicane and partiality, into the breadth of constitutional right and freedom; or he shall stand the pleader asserting the cause of the poor and oppressed, and hurling defiance at the judgment-seat, if it be venal and corrupt. Now the navigator launches forth, redeeming the noblest adventure from the undeserved opprobrium cast upon it, converting the fulness of the seas to their destined use, and not only in seamanship but in religion, guiding his voyage by heaven. Then is seen, by the side of the sick and dying bed, the skilful healer, plying the secrets of nature which he has gathered up into his art, adding the graceful tenderness to the inevitable severity of treatment, lifting up from sickness and bringing back from death. This teeming mind pours out its stores of erudition: that hand creates the painting and the sculpture which ennoble a country and mark an age. The voice of the reciting boy in these examinations may one day be heard in the senate. The tender child, shrinking from the test of these publicities, may attain the high distinction of being the teacher of the young. But above all, I pray that from these forms,—"for this cause I bow my knee!"—may issue pastors for our churches, men of light and love, men of knowledge and zeal, men of power and earnestness, "helpers of the truth," "good ministers of Jesus Christ:" and also missionaries in a great company, ambassadors to the heathen, of a spirit which shall surpass and throw behind all that discoverers have known of ardour, philanthropists of disinterestedness, and heroes of dint.

My dear young friends, I congratulate you on your pupilage; on the scene of your dwelling and the order of your training. I congratulate you on your proficiency. Be true to your studies and loyal to your instructors. You all know, however young, that you have lost much time. Redeem what is

lost. Waste no more. Nothing is so precious. As to your studies I will only say, Be diligent, and when you cannot perceive the advantage of any particular branch of learning, pursue it as though you did, for you must be assured it would not be required of you were it not for your profit. Let early piety be manifest in you. While your hearts are tender seek unto the Lord God of your fathers. Shun evil communications. Be afraid of nothing but sin. Repress the curiosity of the youthful heart. Prayerfully resist each form of temptation. "Avoid it, pass not by it, turn from it, and pass away." Connect your path in life with your eternal destiny. Raise for yourselves the supplication,—it is so very beautiful, for the ways of ambition, and voluptuousness, and heedlessness, are ways which perish,—"Lead me into the *way everlasting*." Should you die in early life, yours will be a blessed grave, if you are born again. The Grecians buried their youth in the morning twilight: that of the evening would have reminded them of night —but this led on to the orient, the day-spring, the meridian sun! With better right should we remember you and hail you, as we laid you low, amidst the dawn and progress of your eternal day!

It may not be improper to remind you, that most young persons continue to unfold the same character which has been formed in their earliest years. A skilful observer is seldom in error when he takes his forecast of their future bearing. The listless are still listless, the ingenuous are still ingenuous, the diligent are still diligent. Habits are forming now: they are clinging things. Passions are opening now: they are unappeasable things. Aims are settling now: they are undiverting things. The presages and germs bespeak your whole future character and course!

But this is deeper insight: it is not formed upon the inspection of a day. We who are the casual witnesses of such

a scene are often disappointed. The quick and brilliant youth may be well calculated for a part in some public display,—he seizes the prize and catches the applause. But so will not his teachers reckon him. Let the honours of this exercise,—doubtless well awarded!—be the incentives to a yet more vigorous application, and let those who win the race also consider that they must keep it. Pitiable will it be if any laureate brow should this day show itself to be no more seen! If hopes be excited only to be deceived! As in the Epigraphæ of Homer we read of Nireus thrice,—only in form inferior to Pelides,—we see him bounding over the main,—but in council and in battle we never hear of him more!

Let me especially urge you to keep your station. You are of gentle descent and blood. Beware of low habits, and pursuits, and terms, and haunts, and associates. Never speak lightly of rectitude and independence. It is very fashionable to boast, in these times, of an unprincipled recklessness. Affect no liberalism at the sacrifice, and to the disdain, of your ancestral and educational principles. Think, at least, no worse of any cause because it is contemned of the unreflecting and the wicked.

> "Suffering for Truth's sake,
> Is fortitude to highest victory,
> And to the faithful, Death the gate of life."

Now begin to form your library. The sight of books, on which your youthful eyes were bent, will not suffer your maturer studies to relax. "Procure," says the author of the Αγωγη Παιδων, "Procure for youth the ancient writers, to make a collection of them as husbandmen do of all instruments for their employ. For of the same nature is the use of books to scholars as being the tools and instruments of

learning." Resolve, in the strength of God, to prepare yourselves for useful lives.

We see you coming forward on the stage which we must soon forsake. We welcome you to it. We resign our places for you. You have opportunities of action which our youth did not command. You possess facilities of education which we did not enjoy. Transcend us,—easily you may,—by your deeds. Take a station which we could never reach. Wield a hitherto unessayed power. The old man can only speak of the past, yet it may be a glorious reminiscence. The middle-aged feel that their strength, though impaired, is haply not exhausted. The young pant, and fill the future with dreams of fame. Thus the three choirs of the Spartan festival were wont to sing:—

The veterans,—

'Αμμες ποκ' ημες αλκιμοι νεανιαι.*

The younger men,—

'Αμμες δε γ' ειμεν αἰ δε λης, πειραν λαβε.†

The boys,—

'Αμμες δε γ' εσσομεθα πολλῷ καρρονες.‡

Plutarch. Lycurgus.

* We were once young, courageous in battle!

† We are so still,—if you want us, put us to the proof!

‡ We will in our intrepidity excel you all!

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